

LABOR AGE



THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

When Will The Depression End?

J. C. Kennedy



A Real United Front

Louis F. Budenz



Workers' Education Today

A. J. Muste



The Hosiery Workers' Situation

Editorial

OCTOBER, 1931

25 CENTS

LABOR AGE



THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

When Will The Depression End?

J. C. Kennedy



A Real United Front

Louis F. Budenz



Workers' Education Today

A. J. Muste



The Hosiery Workers' Situation

Editorial

OCTOBER, 1931

25 CENTS

LABOR AGE

Vol. XX—No. 10

October, 1931

CONTENTS

EDITORIALS:

A. F. OF L. AND WAGE CUTTING; OBITUARY OF A LABOR LEADER; SLOAN DECLARES WAR; CRISIS IN THE HOSIERY WORKERS' UNION; ILLINOIS MINERS, WAKE UP!	1
CAPITALISM STAGGERS	<i>J. C. Kennedy</i>
A REAL UNITED FRONT	<i>Louis F. Budenz</i>
"TELL THE WORKERS TO TIGHTEN THEIR GRIP"	<i>Byrd Kelso</i>
WORKERS' EDUCATION TODAY	<i>A. J. Muste</i>
SHORT CUTS TO THE REVOLUTION	<i>Commentator</i>
SOCIALIST CONGRESS IN VIENNA	<i>Charles Kramarsky</i>
DO WE NEED A NEW PARTY	<i>Reader Discussion</i>
LETTERS FROM WORKERS	23
IN OTHER LANDS	<i>Patrick Quinlan</i>
FLASHES FROM THE LABOR WORLD	<i>Frank L. Palmer</i>
SAY IT WITH BOOKS:	26

HIGH ALTITUDES; THE PHILOSOPHY OF NATIONALISM;
SCOTTSBORO ANALYZED; FEED THEM PSYCHOLOGY.

C. P. L. A. CONFERENCE

OVER 100 C. P. L. A. members and sympathizers attended the three day conference at Brookwood over the Labor Day week end. The first two days were devoted to reports and discussions on industrial situations in which C.P.L.A. members have been recently engaged—the Paterson, N. J. textile strike, the West Virginia miners' strike, the strike of the Westchester County, N. Y. building laborers, and the Brooklyn Edison employes' organization campaign. A large group of strikers fresh from the Paterson picket line enlivened the meeting with songs and yells. An Ohio steel worker told how steel companies had been whittling down wages despite their public assertions to the contrary, and forecast a 10 per cent wage cut in the immediate future—a prophecy which has since been fulfilled. A member of Local 308 of the Lathers' Union in New York told of the efforts of that organization to rid itself of racketeering officers who had made way with large sums of union money and who had not permitted an election or an auditing of the treasurers' books for 14 years. He spoke hopefully of the forthcoming election but deplored the lack of labor education among the membership which makes them easy prey to machine control.

The question as to whether a new political party was needed provoked heated and at times bitter discussion on the last day of the conference. Some Socialists in the C.P.L.A. indignantly repudiated criticisms that the S. P. is not sufficiently concerned with union activity, that it does not give militant leadership to unorganized workers, that leading Socialists are indifferent or hostile to the workers' government in Russia, and that the party is more concerned with rolling up votes in electoral campaigns than in building a real workers' organization. The Communist Party came in for criticism on the ground that it suffered from

mechanistic dictation from Moscow, that its methods on the political field are unrealistic, and that it is pursuing a "sectarian, union-wrecking, strike-breaking policy" on the trade union field.

Advocates of a new labor party movement maintained that there is no effective political party to which workers can rally even in the present industrial depression and that in addition to the shortcomings of the two existing parties, the confusion of the terms "socialist" and "communist" as applied to both philosophy and organization is a handicap.

A mass labor party should have a clear-cut purpose of abolishing the existing economic system and putting in its place a planned economy under the control of the workers. The basic method by which this would be accomplished, according to the new-party advocates, is by building up the organized power of the working class on the economic, political, cooperative and cultural fields, rather than appealing for general support. While that means rejecting parliamentarism as the sole salvation, commitment to a dogma of violence was held not to be the only alternative.

C.P.L.A.'s relationship to such a labor party movement would be as a force for militancy and a guard against opportunism. In other words, C.P.L.A. would be an agency working for a mass labor party, but not a labor party itself. Whether local C.P.L.A. groups should engage in electoral campaigns would depend upon the particular situation.

Opposition to the idea ranged from mild dubiety as to the practicability of C.P.L.A. with its limited resources attempting to spread itself out onto the political field, to passionate denunciation on the part of old-time Socialists who had been working within C.P.L.A. but felt their primary allegiance was to the Socialist Party. On the other hand, a considerable number of persons felt that the industrial depression furnishes a golden opportunity for workers' political action, and that a new party, rather than a renovation of existing parties, is desirable.

The conference revealed a very definite advance on the part of C.P.L.A. within the last year. Reports of work done were very encouraging, and the organization's numerical growth was evidenced in the new faces to be seen in the audience.



A letter from Donato Carrillo regarding the situation in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has been excluded from this issue for lack of space. It will be published in our next issue.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

IMPORTANT

Labor Age and C. P. L. A. have moved from 104 Fifth Avenue to 128 East 16th Street.

We now have a large hall with offices to which members and friends are invited to come.

• LABOR AGE •

October, 1931

EDITORIALS

PRESIDENT GREEN and other A. F. of L. leaders raised a great hue and cry over the United States Steel cut. The papers gave them plenty of space for their pro-

A. F. of L. and Wage Cutting tests. Was it because the papers knew that the A. F. of L.'s bark is much more terrifying than its bite?

The fact is that the leaders of the official labor movement are themselves largely to blame for the flood of wage reductions now overwhelming the workers. Back in the fall of 1929 when the depression started, they trusted to the "honor" of President Hoover, the bankers, and the industrialists who met with labor leaders in the famous White House conference and "promised" not to cut wages during the depression—a depression which according to President Green and President Hoover and all the other leading lights in the nation would last for only a couple of months anyway!

When the C.P.L.A. pointed out that there was no way of keeping the employers to their "promise" and that the fighting spirit of the workers was sapped by such an agreement, we were denounced as Bolsheviks. We leave it to our readers to judge whether or not the event has justified our warning.

If back in 1929 the A. F. of L. leaders had started to organize the workers against the wage cuts bound to come unless the workers themselves fought them, if even six months ago when they finally began to admit that wage cuts were being made on a large scale they had suited their action to their words and had undertaken to lead workers in mass resistance against these wage reductions, there might be a different story to tell today. As it is, they are guilty of another outrageous betrayal of the workers.

As things now stand the steel workers themselves must give the answer to wage cutting by self-organization. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action has already for some time had workers in the steel mills carrying on the preliminary education necessary before effective organization could be undertaken. That work will continue. We are confident that the ultimate result will be an answer from the steel workers which will make the masters in America tremble as the recent revolt of the British sailors struck terror to the heart of the powers that be in Great Britain.

Obituary of A Labor Leader THE death of Peter Brady, President of the Federation Bank of New York, in an aeroplane accident a few days ago, occasioned a great stir in the public press.

What Matthew Woll is to the A. F. of L. and to the labor movement of the United States, that Peter Brady was to the New York State Federation of Labor and to the labor move-

ment of that state. Oddly enough, Pete belonged to the same union as Matt, namely, the Photo Engravers.

Among those quoted by the papers as expressing deep concern at Brady's tragic death, bankers, generals and politicians were more prominent than laborites. This was appropriate.

The Federation Bank of New York under Brady's leadership had been successful from the conventional banking point of view. Its success, however, was due to political influence much more than to labor support. Labor banking in his hands was a means to make labor capitalist-minded.

Peter Brady was a militarist of militarists, a liaison officer between the United States army and the A. F. of L. Labor conventions in recent years, due largely to his influence, have been infested with propagandists of narrow nationalism and preparedness.

He was one of the strongest opponents of every attempt of the workers to build their own political party. He believed they had more to gain from the favors of Tammany Hall, of which corrupt and shameless organization he was a henchman and a favorite.

He was a breezy, and in many ways pleasant, individual of the go-getter type. In theory he was a pure and simple trade unionist; in methods he was far from simple. He was the sworn enemy of every form of progressivism and militancy in the labor movement and, of course, a tireless hunter of reds.

WAR has been declared by the Brooklyn Edison Company on its employees. An army of gangsters has been hired to destroy the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees, recently organized, and to stop the activities of S. William Levich, secretary to the Brotherhood.

This move was taken by the Company, of which Matthew S. Sloan, one of Hoover's Committee to handle unemployment, is president, on Wednesday morning, September 23, when at a secret meeting of 30 officials of the Company it was decided that distribution of the *Live Wire*, official organ of the Brotherhood, must be stopped and that S. William Levich must be got rid of.

That afternoon Levich, while distributing the *Live Wire* to the men on the pay line at Dekalb Avenue and Rockwell Place, was attacked by four foremen of the Company and beaten into unconsciousness. These foremen have been arrested and placed on parole by Magistrate James Blanchfield to appear for hearing October 7. A summons has also been issued by City Magistrate William Klapp against Matthew S. Sloan for investigation of a charge of criminal conspiracy, made by Levich.

One week after the cowardly attack on Mr. Levich, and after the arrest of three of the foremen, another attempt was made to distribute the *Live Wire* to the men. This time the distributors, six of them including Levich, were met by between 40 and 50 gangsters, and, although police protection had been demanded, these ruffians, hired by the weeping Christian Sloan, were permitted to tear the papers from the hands of the distributors, call the girls filthy names and do about as they pleased. One of the girls was hit in the face by one of these brave aides of Sloan. The police managed to be always at a convenient distance from those whom they were supposed to protect.

As many readers of LABOR AGE will remember, the move to organize the Brooklyn Edison Employees was begun last April, following the arbitrary lay-off of 2,000 men by the Company. This lay-off was put through in spite of the promise made to President Hoover by Matthew S. Sloan, president of the Company, that there would be no wage cutting in his company, and of the fact that the Brooklyn Edison Company made \$11,000,000 more profit for its stockholders in 1930 than in the year of prosperity, 1929.

At the very start, the campaign to organize the Brooklyn Edison Employees met terrific opposition from the Company's army of spies, and from the police. Distributors of the *Live Wire* were arrested, and Company spies terrorized workers caught with the little blue paper in their possession. Those arrested, however, were each time dismissed by the Magistrate with the information that they were within their legal rights in distributing the paper. After the police learned that the court would not uphold their arrests, they attempted to intimidate distributors by strong arm methods. Two of the distributors thus treated immediately preferred charges against the officer involved, and that stopped police interference.

Now, the Brooklyn Edison Company has evidently decided to employ gangsters to do its dirty work. Matthew S. Sloan, the good Christian whose heart bleeds for the suffering poor, is being revealed in his true character—a hypocrite who uses the cloak of Christianity to hide his company's exploitation of its workers and of the public. And the law, which he pretends as a good American to honor, he brazenly breaks just as readily as any bandit or common thief when it's to his advantage to do so.

The basis for this attack upon the official head of the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees lies first of all in the fact that the Company is interested in putting into effect a general cut in wages similar to that introduced by the United States Steel and other large corporations throughout the country.

In the second place, as was brought out by Morgan, spokesman for Sloan, at the meeting in which ways and means of getting rid of Levich and the *Live Wire* were discussed, the Brotherhood, through its agitation before the public, is impeding and endangering the steal which is now being put over on the consumer through the new "demand" meters and the new electric rates.

The Brooklyn Edison Company has decided that the Brotherhood of Brooklyn Edison Employees and the *Live Wire* are obstacles in the way of its pirating endeavors, and that they must go.

But the *Live Wire* will not go. The Brotherhood, inspired and educated by the brutal methods of Matthew S. Sloan and his like, will grow in power by leaps and bounds, and the robbers who operate in the name of the law and of respectability will be exposed to be worse criminals

than the thieves who operate outside the law, and much more to be despised.

Brooklyn Edison workers, your fight has just begun.



BETWEEN four and five thousand members of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers went on strike a few days ago against their own union. The union had voted to accept a reduction of wages ranging from 25 to 45 per cent on various operations. This

on top of previous wage cuts meant a slash of 55 per cent from the peak of 1929. The workers in practically all the hosiery mills in New York, New Jersey and New England, walked out on September 21 rather than accept this latest cut.

How did a union, in many respects vigorous and progressive, come to take such a terrific reduction? The union has about 25 per cent of the industry organized. The industry is at least 30 per cent over-developed so that all the union mills could shut down and still the market could be easily supplied. At the beginning of the present season the non-union mills in Reading, Pa., and vicinity had 50 per cent of the orders, the non-union mills in the South 43 per cent, and the union mills the remaining 7 per cent, because the mills not paying union wages could easily undersell the union mills.

Previous drastic wage cuts accepted by the organization had simply led to further wage cuts in the non-union mills and the unorganized workers had passively accepted these reductions. Now, it was argued, let us take such a big cut that the union employers can easily under-sell the non-union. The latter will then have a price war on their hands, and will realize that they may be ruined unless they join the union manufacturers in an attempt to stabilize the industry. Furthermore, they will have to make such big additional wage reductions that the unorganized workers will be earning hardly anything at all, and will revolt and join the union for self-protection. Then, the argument continued, the industry can be stabilized and wages brought up again.

It must be admitted that in the face of the situation in their own industry and general economic conditions the hosiery workers were in a tight place. Intelligent people will hesitate to pass judgment from the side lines.

Nevertheless, we believe that certain emphatic criticisms of the policy pursued by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers are in order.

In the first place, to put such a drastic measure as the one we have described into effect in these times without making sure in advance that the active rank and files everywhere understood the situation, and that they accepted the proposed remedy and were willing to try putting it into effect, is inexcusable. The vote on this measure was far from convincing. When it was first brought up in the hosiery workers convention last summer it was voted down 32 to 26. A couple of days later it was adopted by a vote of 36 to 21. When the proposal was sent to the membership for a referendum it was adopted by Branch No. 1, Philadelphia, by a vote of 700 to 400. This is the largest single branch in the Federation, and it has 19 votes on the National Committee. The proposal, however, was carried in the referendum by the small margin of 29 to 25. It will be seen, therefore, that if the 19 votes of the Philadelphia branch are deducted, the proposal was defeated in the rest of the union by an over-whelming majority; namely, 10 to 25.

To put such a gambling proposition as this into effect, to require such sacrifices from the membership on the basis of such a small majority, especially when it meant, in effect, pitting the workers in Philadelphia against their fellow workers in the other union areas, was either a piece of high-handed autocracy or a venture in despair, which suggests that some or all of the hosiery workers' officials have become utterly unworthy of the position they hold.

In the second place, while some notable battles to organize the unorganized have been waged by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, they are today in the sorry plight to which we have referred, because in the past couple of years, especially, they have not made the militant and effective efforts at organization which should have been made. For example, when the American Federation of Labor undertook its grandiose southern organizing campaign in 1929, a campaign which consisted chiefly of appeals to the businessmen, financiers and politicians of the South to accept the American Federation of Labor as a conservative union and a bulwark against bolshevism, the hosiery workers' officials went enthusiastically into that kind of campaign, expressed themselves as expecting great results from it, made trips to Washington to hob-nob with Matthew Woll and Green, and turned the cold shoulder on workers' education and the militant and progressive friends who had on previous occasions often co-operated with them.

Unintelligent and flabby action characterized their recent attempts to organize the non-union workers in Reading and vicinity.

Militants within the organization have frequently been scoffed at and kept down.

Now the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is reaping the fruits of their alliance with the A. F. of L. reactionaries and their other mistakes. It may be impossible to prove mathematically that better results would have been obtained under a different policy, but it is a fact as plain as the nose on your face that the results could not possibly have been worse. And some of the officials of the organization would not have sold their souls as they have.

Lately there has been quite a revival of progressive and militant talk on the part of some of these officials. Whether this is a genuine conversion remains to be seen. Even if it is, the conversion may be too late as has happened with conversions so often.

In the third place, was not the gamble too great? The industry is already over-developed. Under our present chaotic economic system, what assurance is there that a price war would not simply mean that more small low-wage shops are put up? What about the chaos in the coal industry? The "cockroach" shops which infest the silk industry in Paterson? Is there any evidence that manufacturers or bankers or the government have any real intention or ability to stabilize these industries? What assurance that the hosiery industry would not be permitted to go down the same road to destruction?

The policy adopted by the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers is based at least to a considerable extent on the assurance that the union manufacturers want to continue to deal with the union, and to help stabilize the industry. The fact that the manufacturers under the proposed agreement are supposed to forego profits altogether for a year is given as evidence of their good faith. Here again, however, questions arise. Have they also given up the big salaries which often represent profits rather

than any genuine return for service? On the other hand, in view of the figures which we have already given as to the amount of orders booked by the union manufacturers and in view of the general economic situation, were these manufacturers giving up very much when they agreed to give up their profits for a year?

In the past the union organized the shops of these very manufacturers only by hard fighting. Is it not possible that all, or at least some of them, now hope that the resentment of the members of the union against this new huge wage reduction will smash the union and that the manufacturers will then be in a position to stabilize the industry to suit themselves without interference from the union?

Surely a policy largely based on faith in manufacturers and on the hope of being able to stabilize a particular industry under our capitalist system is a very risky policy for a movement to enter into.

In the fourth place, a cut of 55 per cent in wages, even in the wages of relatively well paid workers, is too much of a good thing. If the United States Steel Corporation is to be condemned for a 10 per cent wage cut, what will be said of a union which takes a 55 per cent reduction? What kind of an example is this to other workers who have been taught that unionism has been able to do something for them? What sort of help is this toward solving the economic crisis which results precisely from failure to pay the workers enough to buy back what they have produced?

As already stated, 4,500 or 5,000 members refused to accept in a passive manner this wage cut policy against which they had voted in their branch meetings. They are on strike. We approve of this revolt, regardless of what its immediate tangible effects on the wage level may be. It is a healthy thing for all concerned that the rank and file are showing fight.

Two thousand or more of these workers of New York, New Jersey and New England drove in buses and cars to Reading, Pa., the great non-union hosiery center, recently, and demonstrated before the Berkshire and other large non-union plants. At the present writing this demonstration is being repeated. This is a sound move as well as a dramatic one. There should be a general strike in the industry if it is possible to get one; even in these times that might put an end to the avalanche of wage cuts. Anyway it would remind our political leaders who have been so impotent and callous in this crisis that they will have to reckon some day with the wrath of the workers. The attack on the non-union centers must be kept up.

We make one other suggestion. Let an emergency convention be called. Let special care be taken that it is a representative one. Let the voice of the members be heard. Let two of the officials who are definitely responsible for the present situation give the membership a chance to replace them if they wish to do so. Let that convention strive to put an end to the present tragic situation where some of the members are on strike while others, especially in Philadelphia, the administration stronghold, are virtually scabbing on them. Let the convention work out the details of a policy which shall be genuinely militant, which will prevent the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers from becoming a mere company union, which will put it in a position to make the best possible fight for its membership and to go down, if it must go down, with the union banner flying. There is no disgrace in defeat; there is disgrace in the situation which now prevails.

Illinois Miners, Wake Up!

LATEST reports on the rank and file movement in the miners' union in Illinois are not encouraging. During the past month no new locals have been added to the rank and file industrial organization. President Edmonson and other officials have gone back to work in the mines. Secretary Keck is carrying on the district office in Springfield.

The miners from Franklin County and adjoining sections in Southern Illinois have not stood by the rank and file organization as we had expected. It was not good for the miners in that part of Illinois to stick by John L. Lewis, while Alexander Howat and others made an attempt, however weak and subject to criticism, to clean house in the miners' union. It is to be hoped that the leaders in that section of Illinois who have temporarily been balked in their effort to build a rank and file organization now realize their earlier mistake.

The job of really cleaning house or of building a new organization is always a tough one in the trade union movement. It is a task to exhaust all but the strongest nerves in such a period of industrial organization and chaos as the present. Those who have a labor philosophy and a vision of labor's ultimate goal must nevertheless keep at the task.

The next important event in Illinois is the district convention called for October 6th by the regular organization attended by John H. Walker. At present it looks as though the great majority of the locals will send delegates to that convention. There are still a good many miners who think that something may be accomplished there. That depends on the policy pursued by the honest and militant elements who may attend.

They must demand, in the first place, that John H. Walker and his pals give a complete and clear account of just how, why and on what terms they reached an agreement with John L. Lewis last March when they suddenly accepted Lewis as their rightful international president, after having denounced him daily for a year as a crook, traitor and agent for the steel trust. And when, without even a pretence of consulting the rank and file, they wiped the reorganized U. M. W. of A. out of existence.

Secondly, John H. Walker and the

members of his machine must be put out. Their offices must be vacated. Others must be elected in their place, elected by a genuine poll of the rank and file.

There are all kinds of good reasons why John H. Walker should go. If he could put over a deal with Lewis like the one of last March without consulting his membership, there is no reason why he should not perpetrate a similar or even a greater crime again. Walker has an overpowering desire to be in good standing again with all his pals in the high official circles of the A. F. of L., so that he may go to A. F. of L. conventions and deliver grandiose orations. The only way in which he can accomplish that, however, is to remain in good standing with John L. Lewis. For there is not a chance, as has now been clearly demonstrated, that Green and the A. F. of L. Executive Council will go back on Lewis. Therefore, so long as John H. Walker continues in office in the miners' union he is bound to be a tool of Lewis.

Thirdly, a new constitution must be adopted in which the appointive power through which officials build up a personal machine will be taken away from them and the control of the organization fixed in the hands of the rank and file.

Furthermore, the correct policy to be followed when the contract with the operators in Illinois expires in March, must be mapped out. There are two main lines which may be followed—one is to adopt a policy of looking out for Illinois alone and getting the best possible concessions from the local operators for the Illinois miners without putting up a fight. It may look like a wise move to be thus conciliatory toward the operators, to join them in trying to boom sales for Illinois coal, etc. Attractive as such a path may seem at the beginning, however, it leads straight to the destruction of the Illinois miners' union, and complete demoralization of conditions in the Illinois mines. Already the miners in Illinois are suffering from unemployment and from all kinds of infractions of the contract because the operators realize that they are weak, indeed practically helpless, so long as the other great bituminous coal areas are unorganized. This condition is bound to grow worse so long as Illinois with only 11 per

cent of bituminous coal production is the only important organized district.

If now the Illinois miners are not prepared to show fight, if they place their chief reliance on some plausible scheme for helping the operators get business for the Illinois mines, that will be a further sign of weakness. If the union under these conditions gets a contract and survives at all it will be to all intents and purposes a company union, existing because it is tolerated by the Peabody Coal Company and other interests, and tolerated only so long as it faithfully serves those interests.

If on the other hand the Illinois miners are really to improve their wage standard and the other conditions for which the union fought for forty years, then they cannot stand alone. Non-union fields must be organized and their standards brought up. Illinois for its own protection must help see to it that that is done.

Such an effort to organize miners on a national scale means either a complete house-cleaning in the national organization or the building of a new independent organization. In other words, if Illinois is to be saved Lewis must go as well as Walker, and no movement will be worth anything which does not hold definitely to this line.

After this second course, which is both militant and realistic, is decided upon, then plans must be immediately started for a vigorous general organization movement and, if necessary, a general strike of the industry in the spring. That means a nation-wide rank and file effort to clean house or to build a new union.

To sum up, the regular district convention must be a genuine rank and file convention and must adopt a program of the rank and file organization, or else the Illinois miners must once and for all let the so-called regular district organization go hang, and join the rank and file movement. Otherwise the Illinois coal fields are doomed to become the stronghold of open-shoppers or company unionism, with distress and shame for the miners of a state which has seen so many heroic battles.

Miners of Illinois, wake up!

Act in line with your real interests!

Make the miners' union again a force for progress in the American Labor scene!

Capitalism Staggers

By JOHN C. KENNEDY

THE stock market crash of October, 1929, served notice on the world that the bubble of American prosperity had burst. Since that time we have been bombarded continuously with optimistic forecasts by the President and his spokesmen, leading financiers, statisticians and economists. These practical gentlemen are supposed to know much about the inner workings of the capitalist system, but, unfortunately, their predictions have almost invariably been contradicted by the facts.

In the hope that some light may be thrown upon this puzzling situation we have made an analysis of the current depression from the standpoint of Marxian Economics. As a result of our studies we are ready to state that the facts show beyond question:

1. That American capitalism is being shaken to its very foundations by the worst crisis in history.

2. That bourgeois financiers, industrialists, economists and statesmen are utterly unable to understand or control the course of the depression.

3. That Marxism furnishes a relatively simple and sound explanation of the depression and indicates that the difficulties of capitalism will steadily increase as the years go by.

While the depression is world-wide in scope we will confine our attention in this article mainly to the American situation. And first of all what facts are at hand to substantiate our charge that American capitalism is being shaken to its foundations. Let's take a glance at some of the basic industries.

Steel production declined from 38,813,192 tons during the first eight months of 1929 to 18,933,439 tons during the first eight months of 1931—down 51 per cent.

Automobile production declined from 3,726,283 in the first seven months of 1929 to 1,791,913 in the first seven months of 1931—down 54 per cent.

Bituminous coal production declined from 349,579,000 in the first eight months and five days of 1929 to 256,243,000 tons in the corresponding period of 1931—down 26 per cent.

CAPITALISM—even American capitalism—is staggering. Its years are numbered. To those who think in historical terms, not prosperity—but *a new social order is just around the corner.*

Building contracts awarded in the 37 states for which records are kept by the F. W. Dodge Corporation declined from \$5,754,290,500 in 1929 to \$4,523,114,600 in 1930. The contracts for the first seven months of 1931 are 30 per cent lower than for the corresponding period of 1930. These figures indicate that comparing similar periods of 1929 and 1931, building is down 50 per cent.

The loading of freight cars declined from 35,377,737 in the first seven months of 1929 to 25,658,035 in the first seven months of 1931—down 27 per cent.

The price of staple farm products, such as wheat and cotton, have fallen to the lowest point in 30 years. The Federal Farm Board admits its inability to cope with the situation.

American exports declined from \$3,407,230,518 in the first eight months of 1929 to \$1,661,785,000 in the first eight months of 1931—down 51 per cent. Moreover, in August, 1931, for the first time in over five years, the imports exceeded the exports.

A balanced picture of the industrial and business system as a whole is presented by the *Annalist Monthly Index* of business conditions. Taking normal production as 100 the *Annalist* index for the first eight months of 1929 averaged 107.7. For the first eight months of 1931 it averaged 77.0—down 30 per cent. Other indexes compiled by the Federal Reserve Banks and private statistical organizations present substantially the same picture.

Moreover, not only do all statistics show a tremendous slump in business when the first eight months of 1931 are compared with the corresponding period of 1929, but the weekly indexes of the first three weeks of September indicate that business is plunging to still lower levels.

Gage P. Wright, business counsellor and editor of the *Business Economic Digest* says in the *New York Times*, of September 20, that "By the end of 1931 more than \$50,000,000,000 in income will have been lost in this country as a result of the depression." These figures, he explained, are conservative averages of the estimates of economic observers who maintain statistical records of national income from year to year. Mr. Wright's statement of the ravages of the depression does not take into account the so-called capital losses brought about by the depreciated value of securities and real property, because they are fluctuating and are as susceptible to increase as to decrease, he declared.

These "capital losses" are indicated in another column of the same number of the *Times* where it is estimated that the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange on September 19, 1931, have shrunk in market value some \$50,000,000,000, or nearly two-thirds of the total market value these stocks had on September 19, 1929.

The terrific strain which the financial structure of American capitalism is suffering during the depression is disclosed by the record of business and bank failures.

In 1929 there were 642 bank failures,
Deposits \$234,532,000.

In 1930 there were 1,345 bank failures,
Deposits \$864,715,000.

First 8 months 1931, 932 bank failures,
Deposits \$698,816,000.

Within two years 10 per cent of all the banks in the country have failed. Hundreds of others have combined with large institutions.

During the first eight months of 1929 the total number of business failures (in addition to bank failures) was 15,686 with liabilities of \$298,300,907. In the first eight months of 1931 the total of business failures was 19,034 with liabilities of \$477,795,222.

The collapse of business has not yet fully manifested itself in commercial and bank failures because most corporations accumulate reserves in prosperous times which enable them to keep afloat long after profits have faded out of the picture.

Unemployment Smashes Records

The true situation in industrial America is revealed most glaringly in the rising tide of unemployment, which even administration apologists and juggling statisticians can no longer conceal. In a carefully prepared estimate, based largely upon government statistics, W. P. Mangold estimates the number of unemployed in the United States on July 1, 1931, at not less than 9,310,000. Possibly the number reached the absolutely unprecedented figure of 10,560,000. These estimates are not mere guesses, as one can easily ascertain by studying Mr. Mangold's analysis which appeared in the *New Republic*, September 9, 1931. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that employment in August in manufacturing industries fell off 0.3 per cent from July, so apparently the trend is still downward. Moreover, the figures of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics show that in manufacturing industry as a whole employment has declined 30 per cent since May, 1929. These figures, it will be noted, correspond very closely to the various business indexes, which show that business as a whole is down 30 per cent as compared with the first half of 1929.

Mr. Mangold's estimates may be a little high, but after a liberal allowance is made for possible errors the total mass of unemployment is unprecedented in this or any other country. And these figures by no means tell the whole story. In addition to the millions who are totally unemployed there is perhaps an equal number working on part time.

All in all, no one will question that capitalist America is hard hit—and the end is not yet in sight.

The Wise Men Speak

Did the spokesmen for capitalism foresee the coming of the depression? Did they realize its significance and probable duration when it came? Do

they know why it came and when or how it may come to an end? Let the wise men speak for themselves.

Probably the most substantial contribution made to economic literature by professional economists in America during the decade 1920-1929 was a two volume work entitled "Recent Economic Changes," published in the early part of 1929. This work was prepared by a staff of well known economists, under the direction of a committee appointed by President

and more demands deliberate public attention and control. Research and study, the orderly classification of knowledge, joined to increasing skill, well may make complete control of the economic system a possibility. The problems are many and difficult, but the degree of progress in recent years inspires us with high hopes.

"In the marked balance of consumption and production, for example, the control of the economic organism is increasingly evident. With the development of a stream of credit to facilitate business operations, and with flexible power to energize industry and to increase the effectiveness of the workers, has come an increasing evenness of the flow of production. Once an intermittent starting and stopping of production-consumption was characteristic of the economic situation. It was jerky and unpredictable, and overproduction was followed by a pause for consumption to catch up. For the seven years under survey, a more marked balance of production-consumption is evident.

"With greater knowledge of consuming habits, with more accurate records of the goods consumed, a sensitive contact has been established between the factors of production and consumption which formerly were so often out of balance.

"Where pools of goods once were accumulated by the manufacturer, the wholesaler, the jobber, and the retailer; where high inventories once meant distress, shutdowns, failures, and unemployment whenever the demand subsided, there is now a more even flow from producer to consumer."

Herbert Hoover, William Green, Julius Klein, Owen D. Young, Adolph C. Miller of the Federal Reserve Board, John J. Raskob, Daniel Willard, and Edward Eyre Hunt were among the men who signed the report containing the above paragraphs. It is evident that neither they nor the economists who prepared the report had the slightest inkling that America was right on the brink of the worst



McCutcheon in Chicago Daily Tribune
How do the "great intellects" explain this?

Hoover. Did these men, who completed their studies just before America plunged into the depression, really understand what was going on in the country? In the summary of their report they say:

"The balance which has been maintained between consumption and production is nowhere better shown than in the fact that wages have been rising, and that there has been no striking increase of unemployment in a period marked by the broadest technological advancement which we have yet known. . . .

"To maintain the dynamic equilibrium of recent years is, indeed, a problem of leadership which more

economic crisis in its history. Despite a vast amount of research and the accumulation of much valuable information they failed to perceive the developments that made a crash inevitable. And this easygoing optimism, this faith that capitalism was on the high road to permanent prosperity was characteristic not only of this particular group but of all writers on economics save a few rebels and revolutionists.

Up to the very hour that stocks began to tumble (which was several weeks after the depression had really set in) many academic lights failed to see that anything was wrong. Professor Irving Fisher, for example, declared on September 6, 1929, that "There may be a recession in stock prices, but not anything in the nature of a crash. We are living in an age of increasing prosperity and consequent increasing earning power of individuals and corporations." Even after the crash had come in October, Fisher was so bewildered that he thought that prosperity would soon return. And he was by no means alone in this opinion.

As keen and conservative an economist as Benjamin Anderson of the Chase National Bank stated in the *New York Post* financial supplement of January 2, 1930—more than two months after the crash had come:

"But the business position is very strong. Business corporations took advantage of the wild stock market to issue shares on a great scale, and used the proceeds of these new issues for paying off bank loans, and in some cases for retiring bonds. They have very little quick debt and they have moderate inventories, and under such circumstances a business crises is impossible. Business crises come when business men have a large volume of quick debt and slow or unmarketable assets. The general policy of hand to mouth buying, which has obtained in American business since 1920 was continued through the period of wild speculation, and is itself a guarantee that *normal business must go on in the coming months*, since men who have bought moderately in the preceding period must continue to buy in the future."

Incidentally we might remark here that the very best bourgeois economists are missing the mark quite frequently these days. In an article, appearing in the September, 1931, *Bulletin of the National City Bank* we note this confident statement: "The conclusion of loans of this size should establish sterling exchange

against any possible onslaught, and is evidence to the world that the financial markets do not propose that anything shall happen to the pound." Ahem!

In the financial supplement of the *New York Evening Post* of January 2, 1930, referred to above, Andrew Mellon declared, "I see nothing in the present situation that is either menacing or warrants pessimism. During the winter months there may be some slackness or unemployment, but hardly more than is usual at this season of the year. I have every confidence that there will be a revival of activity in the spring, and that during the coming year the country will make steady progress."

John Moody, president of Moody's Investors Service, said, "I am not inclined to believe that 1930 will turn out to be as poor a year as most of the pessimistic prophets appear to think. . . . In brief my view is that whatever is at fault with business will probably iron itself out within a comparatively few months. . . . I am, in short, fundamentally confident that the crash of the 1929 stock market marked no sort of finality for our broad period of prosperity."

The financial supplement of the *Post* contains scores of such optimistic forecasts, and we cite two more of them—not because they are different, but because these seers keep right on forecasting, unmindful of how their previous prophecies have turned out. On January 2, 1930, Warren M. Persons, Ph.D., formerly professor of economics at Harvard University and now economist for the Goldman Sachs Trading Corporation, ventured to predict that "In view of the favorable factors which we find in the situation, especially the soundness of banking conditions, the decline of money rates, and the inventory situation which they reflect, it is probable that the current downward trend of business and industrial production will not continue in 1930 for more than three or four months. . . . The outlook for business in 1930, therefore, appears to be continued decline for the opening months, recovery in the spring and good business after the middle of the year."

The fact that Professor Persons missed the mark badly in 1930 did not deter him from publishing a more exact "time-table" of probable business developments in the financial supplement of the *New York Post* one year later. "My present concept of the probable developments of business in 1931 is this: Beginning of recovery

in February-April; recovery thereafter without important interruption until 'normal' business is reached not later than the middle of 1932, and probably earlier in that year."

Those who are especially interested in the methods used by Professor Persons in arriving at his conclusions will find them set forth in detail, illustrated by elaborate charts and graphs, in his book published early in 1931, entitled "Forecasting Business Cycles." In this book he once more predicts the beginning of business recovery in the Spring of 1931. There is an elaborate bibliography of writings on business cycles and depressions at the end of the book, but no mention of Karl Marx or any of his school.

Professor David Friday made a profound study of the business situation at the beginning of 1930 which was published in a full page article in the financial supplement of the *New York Post*. He concluded with the following prophecy: "The fact of the matter is that a careful survey shows that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with our industrial and financial situation. . . . In this situation any recession in productive activity must be short-lived."

One year later Professor Friday prepared another analysis of the business situation for the *Post*. This time he is somewhat more cautious about making sweeping predictions. However, he indicates that trade will revive in the Spring of 1931 and that business will be normal by Fall.

Dr. Friday speaks with more assurance in his most recent contribution appearing in the October, 1931, number of the *World's Work*. The editor prefaces Friday's article with the following foreword: "The past three years have been hard on the reputations of business prophets, but David Friday is one of the few seers left with a clean record. He stakes his reputation on the statement made herein and the evidence that he marshals to show that business is on the recovery road." But alas for Friday, the very first sentence of his article shows that he is wrong again. He writes, "The second quarter of 1931 will probably stand in history as marking the turning point in the present depression." In the *New York Times* of September 18, 1931, we read that "Business in general was duller in August than in any month this year, according to the monthly report issued yesterday by the Conference of Statisticians in Industry operating under the auspices of the National In-

dustrial Conference Board. Business activity, the report asserted, declined to a level below the low point registered at the opening of the year."

Capitalist Theory Bankrupt

The purpose of this brief review of economic prophecy has not been to cast discredit on the science of Economics, nor do we desire to have the public classify economists with the ordinary garden variety of fortune tellers and astrologers. We simply have attempted to support the statement made in the opening paragraphs of this article that "bourgeois financiers, industrialists, economists and statesmen are utterly unable to understand or control the course of the depression."

In fairness it must be added that a few business advisors and editors, notably Roger Babson, warned some time in advance of the coming stock market crash of 1929. However, a careful study of their writings will disclose that while they recognized that the orgy of stock speculation must end disastrously for many, they failed to see that there was anything organically wrong with capitalism.

Marxism Fits the Facts

Marxian economic theory is now 75 years old. It undoubtedly needs to be modified and extended in order to explain satisfactorily the economic phenomena of our day. Yet even in its original form it gives a far simpler and better explanation of the current depression than the more elaborate theories presented by bourgeois economists. The main points of Marxism which have a direct bearing on the present situation may be summed up as follows:

1. Competition for jobs tends to hold wages down to the customary standard of living for wage-workers, except where there is strong organization or other special protection for the workers.

2. Technological improvements and efficiency systems are constantly increasing the productive power of the workers, without any corresponding increase in real wages.

3. The bulk of the surplus wealth created by more efficient methods of production is absorbed by capitalists, landlords and middlemen.

4. The working class can buy back with its wages only a portion of the wealth which it has created. If industry is to continue operating at full capacity, the capitalists and middlemen must expend their income so as to keep up the demand for labor.

5. The capitalists are unable and unwilling to spend all their income for consumers' goods. Hence they "invest" the surplus in enterprises and equipment that will yield them a profit.

6. As long as the capitalists can invest their surplus profitably in new factories, mills, railroads, buildings, etc., the demand for labor continues and the country is "prosperous."

7. However, a time comes when there are sufficient factories, mills, railroads, buildings, equipment, etc., to meet all the requirements of the market. Even the products of the equipment already existing cannot be sold—since the demand for consumers' goods (largely represented by workers' wages) is inadequate.

8. At this point the capitalists attempt to stimulate sales through extending credit to buyers at home and abroad, but eventually no more credit can be safely granted.

9. Then new construction work and industrial expansion ceases, and vast numbers of workers in the basic industries are discharged.

10. The purchasing power of the unemployed workers is cut off, and this still further weakens the general demand for goods. The depression spreads rapidly to the industries producing and marketing goods, leading to additional layoffs.

11. After a time bankruptcies and forced sales on small margins lower prices to a point where the purchase of consumers' goods begins to equal or exceed production. New markets are opened up in undeveloped districts and countries. New industries are built up to exploit new inventions. Construction work is resumed and speeded up to make up for the period of inaction. Credit is extended and business booms once more. Such is the nature of the business cycle.

Now let us apply this theory to the current depression.

The report of the Hoover Committee on Recent Economic Changes states that, "Notwithstanding the reduction in hours of labor, per capita productivity is nearly 60 per cent greater than it was toward the close of the nineteenth century; the increase in the per capita productivity in manufacturing from 1922 to 1925 was 35 per cent; the productivity of farm workers has increased at a rate probably never before equalled." Whatever we may think of the interpretation of facts in this work the statistics appear to be reliable, and it is conceded by all authorities that there was a remarkable increase in the productivity of labor in the past 30 years. The

point upon which there is considerable dispute is—who got the increase?

Dr. Julius Klein, certainly no radical, speaking before the Advertising Club of New York City said, "Those who advocate wage reductions overlook three vital factors. In the first place wage cuts would hit consumer morale everywhere. Secondly, wage cuts do not mean a corresponding saving in the cost of production. For the factory cost is 16.2 per cent, and a 10 per cent wage cut would only mean a saving in the production cost of 1.6 per cent. Thirdly, *real wages were not inflated along with prices*. The years between 1921 and 1929 saw a 13 per cent increase in wages while the industrial gain was 72 per cent and the dividend increases was 256 per cent." Many able economists would challenge the figures of Dr. Klein. Paul Douglas, for example, would probably deny that wages have failed in such a large measure to keep up with productivity and profits in the decade 1920-1929. We cannot go into that question here without taking much more space than is at our disposal. What we do maintain, and that is all that is essential to the validity of the Marxian explanation of the fundamental cause of the depression, is that increase in production outstripped increases in the purchasing power of the masses to absorb it. Consequently surplus wealth piled up in the hands of the capitalists, and when they could no longer invest it wisely or profitably in further construction and expansion of industrial equipment the beginning of the depression was at hand.

There can be no dispute about the huge increases in capitalist profits preceding the depression. To cite a few examples: The profits of the United States Steel Corporation were \$88,000,000 in 1927, \$114,000,000 in 1928, and \$197,000,000 in 1929. The profits of the Standard Oil group of companies were \$213,617,940 in 1927, \$218,740,335 in 1928, and \$269,645,927 in 1929. According to statistics cited by Gordon Hayes in the *New Republic* of June 3, 1931, taken from the *Bulletin of the National City Bank*, the profits of 1509 corporations increased from \$4,731,000,000 in 1927 to \$6,509,000,000 in 1929—an increase of over 39 per cent in two years. Surely no one will contend that there was any such increase in wages.

So far as the piling up of profits is concerned, the capitalists themselves know very well what was happening, and some of them such as Frank Vanderlip, former president of the

National City Bank, are frank enough to admit it. In a speech delivered at the Town Hall in New York in the Spring of 1931 he said, "We did not divide the fruits fairly. Capital got a pretty generous share. It produced goods at considerably lower cost, did not pay much higher wages, and sold for about the same price. The result was that . . . the great mass of effective consumers, the wage earners, could not take its share of the goods produced." Here we have from an outstanding financier a definite confirmation of the Marxian analysis. It is clear that productive capacity was outstripping the consuming power of the masses. That is the first point to get clearly fixed in our analysis.

Then what did capitalism do? Did it attempt to stimulate the inadequate purchasing power of the masses by the extension of credit? Let its own spokesmen inform us. Paul Warburg, prominent banker, and one of the chief founders of the Federal Reserve Banking System, says in an analysis of the causes of the depression, appearing in the *New York Times* January 10, 1931, "When the purchasing power of domestic consumers threatened to become exhausted, it was revived by the stimulant of installment plans, and buyers abroad, at the end of their tether, were assisted by foreign loans. When the consumers' credit became exhausted the critical moment came when production overwhelmed manipulation."

Melvin A. Traylor, Chicago banker, holds practically the same view of the matter as Mr. Warburg. In an address delivered on January 29, 1931, Mr. Traylor emphasized how sales had been multiplied through credit extension, stating that, "Between 1920 and 1929 there was marketed in the United States a total of more than 70 billion dollars of securities of one kind or another; over 60 billion of this sum represented new capital financing and almost 10 billion represented foreign loans." On the question of installment buying he said, "For the purpose of argument may I assume we all agree that with normal employment at normal wages there will be in any given period of time just so much purchasing power available. If in a period of 10 years under these normal conditions so many goods can be made and sold and used, paid for out of the income and savings of the public, what happens when some outside influence greatly augments this purchasing power? . . . It requires no genius to see if installment buying were practiced by all the

HOW TO PUT OUT A FIRE



"All for charity but not one cent for the Dole"

people for a period of five years, with each year's purchases anticipating the normal buying power of two years, that in five years the total normal buying power from income would be substantially exhausted. After all, the real measure of purchasing power is income."

Neither Warburg or Traylor, of course confirm the Marxian analysis, except on the point that the maintenance of prosperity through the extension of credit could not be continued indefinitely.

The extent to which credit was used to bolster up the purchasing power of the masses and to keep industry going during the decade 1920-29 is simply astounding. Charles Persons, writing in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1930, states that urban real estate mortgages (evidence of buying buildings on the installment plan or erecting buildings on a credit basis) rose from \$11,070,000,000 in 1920 to \$27,106,900,000 in 1929. Mortgage debts on farms increased from \$7,857,700,000 in 1920 to \$9,486,500,000 in 1927. Corporate bonds and notes outstanding (representing long time loans) rose from \$26,100,000,000 in 1920 to \$47,100,000,000 in 1928. Bank loans increased in the United States from \$41,685,-

000,000 June 30, 1920, to \$58,474,-000,000 on June 29, 1929.

In the *New York Times* of July 26, 1931, we find an item reporting that according to the National Association of Finance Companies "approximately \$10,700,000,000 of consumers credit is now outstanding."

In the *Times* of September 23, 1931, Dr. Max Winkler, authority on foreign investments, writes, "One may conservatively place America's foreign investments, exclusive of so-called political obligations, at the end of 1930 at \$17,528,254,000."

The manner in which this huge stream of credit directly stimulated industrial activity is well illustrated by the building industry where credit plays a most important role. Thomas S. Holden, statistician for the F. W. Dodge Corporation, states that for all kinds of building and engineering work, public and private, the American people spent approximately 70 billion dollars in the decade 1920-29. Only 27 billion dollars was spent in the first half of the decade, when a shortage was to be filled and 43 billion dollars was spent in the succeeding five years (1925-1929) after the actual shortage had been filled.

A Limit to Credit Expansion

But this booming of industry and business through the granting of credit cannot go on indefinitely. Expansion cannot be carried much beyond the real need for buildings, equipment and goods, or far beyond the capacity of the borrowers to repay without sure and disastrous consequences. The United States Department of Commerce reports that the percentage of automobiles sold on a credit basis increased from 18 per cent of total sales in January, 1931, to 35 per cent of total sales in July, 1931. Already in 1928 there was an oversupply of certain types of buildings. In 1929 expenditures for residential buildings dropped 28 per cent below the expenditures in 1928. One by one the industries were finding that their market was saturated. The *Annalist Index of Business* for August, 1929, showed a decline from 108.5 in July to 105.7. The decline in building, automobile production and steel ingot production was becoming noticeable. Commenting on this fact the *Annalist* remarked: "The sharpness of the decrease in the combined index, together with other factors, such as the decline in steel buying and the recessions which have recently occurred in steel scrap prices, strongly suggest that August may have marked

an important turning point in the current business cycle."

Mark this—the slump in industrial activity had already begun before the slump in the stock market. It was not the stock market crash of October, 1929, which brought on the depression, as superficial observers have maintained. It was the slump in industry, arising out of the inadequate purchasing power of the masses which began the depression and punctured the speculation in the stock market. The insiders in the stock market, who knew that the tide was turning in industry, began to get out. On October 14, 1929, a week before the big crash, Babson wrote, that the older and more experienced bankers and operators had been selling stocks for several months.

Taking all of the above facts into consideration the sequence of events and basic causes that brought on the current depression seem to be fairly clear. They are entirely in accord with the Marxian analysis. We do not hold that the inadequate purchasing power of the producers is the sole cause of every depression, but we do contend that it is the chief cause of most depressions, and distinctly the fundamental cause of the current depression.

When Will The Depression End?

We now come to the concluding phase of our study—when will the present depression end, and what are the prospects for another period of capitalist prosperity in America? It is hardly necessary to point out that the meagre and halting efforts of capitalists and politicians to restore prosperity have thus far had little or no effect on the course of events. Hoover's conference of "captains of industry," prominent citizens and labor leaders called in November, 1929, did nothing fundamental to check the depression. Some of the public utilities extended their construction programs a bit, but other big business concerns have been practicing "economy." Some governmental bodies undertook to provide work by building roads and other public improvements, but others declared it was necessary to cut down expenses to help the "poor taxpayers." Some concerns have attempted to maintain wage scales in name, but the vast majority have cut the workers' income heavily either by putting their employees on short time or by direct wage cuts. The recent action of the U. S. Steel Corporation marks the

complete collapse of the Hoover Conference's program to maintain wages.

The Farm Board's \$500,000,000 program to restore prosperity to agriculture, and to put the farmer on a plane of equality with organized business has proven to be a complete failure. The plight of the farmer is worse now than when the Farm Board began its operations.

Hoover's miserable makeshifts in dealing with the colossal problem of unemployment is a splendid example of what "an engineer with a capitalist mind" may be expected to do in solving the problems of labor.

In short the only definite plan that has thus far been presented by capitalists or their representatives to deal with the collapse of business is a sort of Soviet government by business men proposed by Gerard Swope, president of the General Electric Company. This much must be said for Swope, he does recognize that there is a real problem to solve. Capitalism cannot go along in the future as it has in the past. But his solution will not solve the problem. His plan will not end the exploitation of labor and the accumulation of vast surplus profits in the hands of the capitalists. It will give labor little more voice in the affairs of industry than the workers now have in the General Electric Company and the U. S. Steel Corporation. And in reality his plan provides but a short step toward the general social planning and control for the general welfare that is necessary to get us out of the quick-sands of capitalism. Most significant of all, even Swope's moderate capitalistic proposals are received coldly or with open hostility by many American capitalists. Most of them are blind and will remain blind to the end. What then, is to happen?

Optimistic business prophets tell us that there have been at least a score of well-defined business depressions in the United States during the past 140 years, and that every one of these depressions has been succeeded by a period of prosperity. Hence it seems logical to them that this depression will be followed by a period of prosperity—perhaps the greatest in our history. And it is logical, IF this depression is essentially the same as those that have preceded it. We contend, however, that it is not, and we cannot predict what will happen this time on the basis of what has happened in the past.

First of all, the United States and many other countries have been industrialized and mechanized to a point

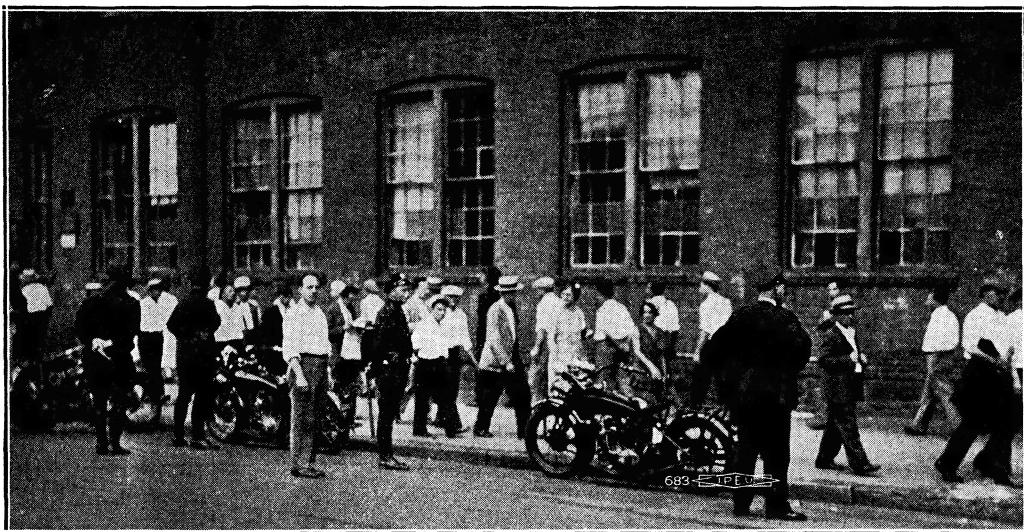
where there is much less need of capital investments for equipment than there has been in the past. In previous years this has provided one of the main ways out of depression—the building of railways, the opening up of new territories, the development of mines, the building of factories, etc. We must recognize that *there are stages of social development*, and the United States and many other countries are not in the stage they were fifty, or even thirty years ago. Perhaps we can see this better in the situation confronting Great Britain than we can in our own case, but the conditions are not essentially different here.

Secondly, the World War and the Russian Revolution have about finished the possibilities of imperialist expansion. Formerly capitalist countries could check depressions and maintain prosperity by exploiting the labor and resources of subject and "backward" peoples—backward in the sense that they did not have modern industrial equipment. Now it is a gamble to export capital to such countries as China or even to South America. The spirit of nationalism kindled by the World War, and the spirit of working-class revolt aroused by the Russian Revolution will not down. Capitalist nations will not much longer be able to exploit the "backward" peoples.

Thirdly, there is the ever-present possibility of a revolutionary outbreak in some important country such as Germany or Italy. The close connection between American business and world conditions has been only too evident in recent months. Nobody can foretell the course of events in Europe, even for the next six months, and their probable effect on America.

Finally, there is the growing challenge to world capitalism of Soviet Russia. The success of the Five-Year Plan now seems to be assured. Other plans will follow. The U.S.S.R. of five or ten years hence will be a formidable competitor in the world market—or on the battlefield. Capitalism has never faced anything like this before.

So, without giving too much play to our imagination, we can see that even if the United States does emerge from this depression, as it probably will, the ensuing period of prosperity is likely to be short and spotted. Capitalism—even American capitalism, is staggering. Its years are numbered. To those who think in historical terms not prosperity—but *a new social order is just around the corner*.



On the Picket Line in Paterson. The bareheaded, smiling fellow in the foreground is the Author

A Real United Front

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

WE are still having arrests, in the ninth week of the Paterson strike. During the last three days, 35 have been taken in by the police, off the picket lines. This is something of a compliment to the militancy of the struggle, especially after 75 per cent of the workers who came out under the banner of the A. F. of L. amalgamated unions are now back at their looms under settlements.

For the entire eight weeks that have gone by our picket lines have continued without interruption, morning, noon and night. The police have broken them up occasionally by wholesale arrests. But official tactics of that sort have been answered by larger and more militant picketing; and in the end the police have given up the hopeless task.

The National Textile Workers' Union has not fared in the same way. Despite the rush that it made to anticipate the general strike of the united organizations, it has found itself unable to rally the mass of the workers to its cause. Almost four weeks ago its picket lines were practically abandoned, only an occasional one being mustered up, and then generally to picket one of our settled shops. Over two weeks ago its workers were given to understand that they might go back into the mills on any terms—a rather tactless and harmful gesture.

At the present moment the 8-hour

day has been re-established in Paterson. A wage increase has been obtained. Union shop committees are functioning in over 130 shops. The joint action movement, fostered by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, has accomplished that much.

The strike, moreover, on our part, is being completed in an orderly fashion. In previous Paterson battles there has been much confusion toward the end, culminating in stampedes of the remaining shops back to the mills. This time such a catastrophe has been happily avoided. Shops that showed signs of weakening were visited and convinced that it was their job to stay out until an orderly settlement could be won. Shops that crumpled up and went in were pulled out again with picket lines. Of course, there were exceptions to this rule, but that is the way in general that things have gone.

Value of Strike Tradition

The amazing feature of this performance has been the fact that it has been carried out under such difficult circumstances. Silk is a sick industry and has been for a long time. There are thousands of silk workers walking the streets by reason of forced unemployment. It is not a usual thing to win better conditions in a depression period.

Then, five weeks of this battle were

maintained without any relief on the part of the amalgamated unions whatsoever, with the exception of a lunch room for the pickets. After five weeks the relief amounted to \$4 and \$5 per week, in food only, according to the size of the family.

Many of the strikers had been out of work for weeks at a time, prior to the walk-out. They had made exceedingly low wages in the pre-strike period, the average wage of the weaver being around \$15 a week.

Paterson tradition helped to keep these workers out, despite the intense suffering. If any one doubts that labor struggles, even when "lost," do not leave good effects, he has never visited Paterson. There is a social consciousness which regards with some horror the business of working under police protection or with picket lines at the mill door.

But that is only one phase of the reason for the stubborn battle. There was unity of many forces in the fight. In the General Strike Committee almost every form of labor opinion was represented — Anarchist, Communist (Majority Group), Socialist Labor, Socialist, I. W. W., independent unionism, A. F. of L. unionism, Associated Silk Workers, United Textile Workers. These diverse elements worked exceptionally well together, and the "cement" that made that possible was the C. P. L. A. Without the presence of our representatives in this commit-

tee and in the lead of the movement, such harmony would not have been achieved.

We have demonstrated here that a genuine united effort is possible in the ranks of the American workers, and that a left wing can successfully function in such campaigns.

Further than that, the chief factor that has urged the strikers to this splendid stand has been the persistent militancy of the entire conduct of the strike. There has been no let-up or lagging, in the face of numerous arrests, en masse and of individuals. There has been a constant hammering at the goal to be reached, and the leadership of the strike has gone on the picket lines and faced arrest and frameup along with the rank and file.

When 68 were taken to jail from the John Hand picket line, of the 135 arrested before that mill alone, I rushed around breathlessly to secure cash bail for them. What was my delightful surprise, upon reaching court with the money, to learn that 49 had refused to be released on bail and chose jail instead. When finally let go, at the pleadings of the Sheriff, they marched down the main streets singing songs and cheering. That was but one example of the fine spirit of our strikers.

The issue at the John Hand Mill, incidentally, was settled in the same manner as the contest at Doherty's in Clifton. After the arrest of Norman Thomas, A. J. Muste and Rev. Bradford Young the police officials of Paterson allowed us to have our way, and mass picketing at the John Hand Mill was not interfered with thereafter, despite the great influence which William Hand has with the city administration. In a word, we maintained successfully for this and future strikes the right to mass picket in Passaic County.

Important Observations

Enough time has elapsed in this effort, and enough has been experienced and noted in it, to make a few

observations that may be of value in other attempts of the same kind.

The industrial struggle, in the trenches, is the main job for those who fight for the working class in America today. Conversely, it is the very division of labor in which we find least personnel and resources to carry on. There are as yet very few persons or forces which have the stamina to get out in the real fight, in strikes and industrial organizational work. It is much more pleasant to pursue the "good, the beautiful and true" from a safe distance from real class war. That makes it all the more important that we store up as much information as we can out of such warfare as is undertaken.

Following are some of the observa-

tions that may be gleaned from the Paterson strike up to date:

1. The possibility of unity among labor groups of varying political beliefs has been demonstrated, at least in part. Despite that minimum friction which arises in every strike committee, right and left and intermediate sections of the workers have carried on the fight together. This group or that has now and then shown an overzealousness to push forward its claims which has required checking and sobering. It is now to be seen if that same unity can be carried into the concluding phases of the strike and into peace-time activities.

2. The business of negotiation and of closing a struggle in an orderly fashion is as important as the militancy in the fight itself. A. J. Muste's presence in Paterson was of the greatest aid in holding shops out that showed signs of weakening, and in facing the necessity for readjustment of demands in accordance with the pressure of the situation.

There comes in every strike a time when some readjustment must be made and it requires as much courage and intelligence to sense this as to conduct a fiery battle.

3. The workers will rally to non-sectarian unionism enthusiastically, if it be militant. Had the National Textile Workers' Union attempted a strike there alone, it would have been a dismal failure. The factional activities of 1928 are too fresh in the minds of Paterson workers. A union must include all workers in a given industry and cannot be run on party-control lines. In Paterson, the N. T. W. was far "out-militanted" by the amalgamated groups. The official Communist union threw up the sponge, so far as the battle against the bosses went, weeks ago. The amalgamated groups, on the other hand, are even now continuing the battle. It was they who opened up Clifton to mass picketing, despite police terrorism and frame-up. It was they who had by far the most arrests on the

(Continued on Page 29)

A Golden Opportunity

The following letter, written to a Paterson mill owner, needs no comment.

Dear Sir:

The questions in your present business that are constantly before you:

Why am I running my plant at a HIGH PRODUCTIVE COST?

Why am I paying EXCESSIVE WAGES?

Why am I hiring UNION HELP, RISKING the CHANCE of a STRIKE?

Why am I paying HIGH RENTAL or HIGH TAXES when I can easily reduce them?

We promptly answer why are you, when we can offer an opportunity to move into a mill that will eliminate all of the above WITHOUT ADDITIONAL EXPENSE.

Our solution to your problems is as follows:

A mill that offers absolutely non-union low wage help in a city that boasts every advantage to the manufacturer. Cheap electric power furnished by our local concern, a member of the Associated Gas & Electric.

There are no organized unions connected with manufacturing in this city. We have found Elmira's labor market to consist of highly competent people working at lower wages than you have ever before experienced. We can readily guarantee that Elmira's wages will size up with the South in every way.

Think of it! Running your plant under the most ideal conditions, at half the productive cost which you have had to undergo. The savings will enable you to lower your prices on merchandise, meeting all competition with ease.

ABSOLUTELY NO EXPENSE or ADDITIONAL COST on moving to this city as our Chamber of Commerce will take care of all cost of moving machinery and equipment, furnishing whatever FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE you might need.

We place before you a GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY. Kindly grasp it. Please find enclosed for your inspection a brief description with picture.

May we have your card by return mail?

Yours very truly,

QUEEN CITY KNITTING MILLS, Inc.

R. G. JENNINGS, Vice-Pres.

"Tell The Workers To Tighten Their Grip"

By BYRD KELSO

ON January 12, 1931, an invitation was extended to the writer to call at San Quentin Prison, on a very important errand in a fight for Justice.

After much embarrassment and frequent irrelevant questions by the prison authorities, I was admitted, once again to see the innocent man from whom the State of California had taken the best fifteen years of his life, for a crime, which the world knows that he did not commit. Even the Wickersham Crime Commission, after an exhaustive study and investigation of this case, said, "The Tom Mooney case is shocking to one's sense of Justice," and that "irregular" methods were used to secure his conviction.

After a short wait in the reception room, a man, old in looks but not in spirit and mentality, entered with a jovial smile, and quickly grasped my hand with a warm greeting, and our important conversation began.

His first desire was to know about the present conditions of the thousands and thousands of workers, on the outside of his prison. We talked of the fighting miners, the textile workers and all others who have suffered the iron heel of capitalism far too long.

Then I noticed the terrible change which had taken place in my friend, Tom Mooney. His hair was snowy white, his face, drawn and lined with deep wrinkles. It was certainly hard

to believe that this man was only 48 years old. He looked all of 70. Here were surely the marks of prison hunger and constant worry.

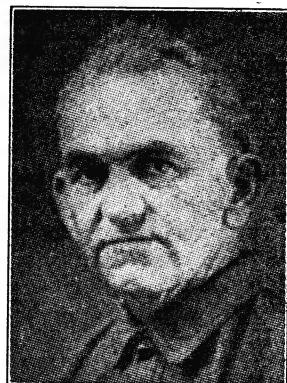
After a brief discourse on workers and their problems, Tom requested that I agree to take the first hearse in California, which we had used effectively in the inaugural ceremonies of the new Governor (James Rolph), at Sacramento, Calif., on January 8, on a National Tour. While discussing plans of the campaign further, a guard announced that my time was up.

Since that time this famous Tom Mooney Hearse, a symbol of one of the world's cleanest and best fighters, has been constantly on the move, covering approximately 15,000 miles and 28 states. Fully 60,000,000 have viewed this exhibit, and press publicity and public comment have been extremely favorable, and I am repeatedly asked, "What is the matter with that State of yours, California? The world knows that Tom Mooney is absolutely innocent and still they can keep him in prison." But the reasons are plain: It is the clash between the interests of open shop employers, with their lust and greed, versus, the onward march of all class conscious workers

TOM MOONEY—Two Pictures



1
9
1
6



1
9
3
1



Byrd Kelso (left) and the hearse which he uses to advertise the death of California Justice

who must and will emancipate themselves from the present insane social system.

And this fight must go on, until all workers realize their true position in world affairs. Then, and then only, can we, the world's workers, usher in a new society, based on the common bonds of decency, intelligence and justice to all. And then the human tragedy of the dastardly frame-up of Tom Mooney and all the sufferings of workers in the past, will have become a bitter and sordid memory.

The last words that Tom said to me, as the prison guard led him away, were: "Tell all of the workers to tighten their grip." Organize! That is what this class war prisoner meant.

Workers' Education Today

By A. J. MUSTE

A FEW days ago the papers carried in big headlines the news that the great British battlefleet had been unable to go through with its regular maneuvers in the North Sea because the sailors had gone on strike against a reduction in their wages. The government had to recall the fleet to its home base, and later scattered the ships to various ports, pending an attempt to meet the demands of the sailors. Everyone immediately recognized this as one of those events which like a lightning flash in a dark night reveals the abyss ahead, and which portends the coming of events of first rate importance.

Unquestionably one of the most significant things about the depression in the United States today is that no such indication of rebelliousness on the part of the workers has yet been shown. Apparently there is not only more talk but even more incipient action in the direction of fundamental social change among intellectuals and certain elements of the middle class than among the workers themselves. Even though we recognize that in the long run the talk on the part of middle class people and business men about economic reconstruction will get nowhere, the fact that the workers have not shown any clear tendency to revolt, and do not as yet seem to be thinking seriously about fundamental changes, is certainly of the utmost significance.

Will there be a change in this situation during the year upon which we are entering? Are we to see a deepening of the spirit of rebellion and an intensification of activity in the labor movement? The answer to that question may perhaps best be found by an attempt to analyze the reasons for the failure of the workers to evidence more rebelliousness today. If we know why they have been so passive until now, we may be able to predict when they may exhibit a more active spirit.

In the first place it must be remembered that, after we have made all allowances for the spottiness of the recent prosperity, the standard of living of the American workers before the crash was certainly high both in comparison with that of European

Address at the Opening of BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

workers and that of American workers themselves before the Great War. This means that the working class as a whole had considerable reserves to fall back upon. There was a lot of fat on the body on which it has been able to exist during the lean months. It means also that American workers, as they look upon Europe, not to mention Asiatic countries, have the feeling that they are still much better off than the rest of the world today. If they begin to rock the boat, they fear the result may be a worsening rather than an improvement of their lot.

Psychology of American Worker

Most important of all in this connection is the psychology created in the American workers by the fact that the generation which came into our industries and mines after 1914 has never yet experienced until now a long continued and intense depression. This means that even after nearly two years of hard times the American worker still tends to think of hard times as a brief bit of hard luck in the midst of good times. The European worker on the other hand, and the American working class before the Great War, looked at things from exactly the opposite angle and regarded good times as a brief interlude in the midst of hard times. Today American workers do not believe that the corner around which prosperity lurks is so near as they did in 1929. Many of them, however, still believe that the corner is there, and the spirit of revolt is not likely to burst forth with real vigor until that illusion has been dispelled.

In the second place, for reasons that we shall go into presently, the American working class is ignorant in regard to underlying social and economic forces. It is a fact, therefore, that our financiers and industrialists actually sense the seriousness of the economic crisis much more clearly than the workers themselves. Consequently,

relief efforts have been put forth by our ruling classes on an unprecedented scale. They have seen to it that, with some exceptions, workers have been able to get a meal fairly regularly. The psychology of the man with even a poor meal in his stomach is very different from that of the man with no food in his stomach at all.

In the third place, in the days before the Great War the official American labor movement, particularly the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions, while they always tended to be conservative, were nevertheless on the side of the underdog and in revolt against Wall Street, big business and the Republican Party. The trade unions, therefore, in the period before the war, served as a channel, a piece of ready-made machinery, through which the workers could express their revolt.

Today the official labor movement is completely identified with big business and the Republican Party, so that workers are not only deprived of ready-made machinery for the expression of revolt but actually find in the existing labor movement the most effective brake upon labor progress and working-class rebellion.

On the other hand the Communist movement in this country has been so lacking in effective leadership, its policies have been so short-sighted, divisive and sectarian, that it does not have the confidence of the mass of the workers nor of the militant spirits among the workers. They do not trust its leadership. Therefore, the left wing movement is also not available as an instrumentality through which the workers can move for the improvement of their conditions and for an attack upon the powers that be.

In the next place, the police and the authorities generally have become much more skilled in suppressing incipient demonstrations than they were in pre-war days. Everyone who has had any experience in strikes, mass picketing and other demonstrations knows that such demonstrations have to be worked up gradually. If a small

group of people can be won for the picket lines today, a larger group will follow the second day and a still larger the third, until it is possible to carry through a genuinely militant mass demonstration. Nowadays, however, by means of tear-gas, skillful maneuvering, mounted forces, etc., the police break up the merest beginnings of mass demonstrations among farmers or workers, and so the masses are inclined to wait sullen and thwarted until they can bear their distress no longer.

Account must be taken also of the very important fact that we live in a very complex world and that both the workers in the mass and their leaders find it difficult to see where they can take hold of the situation in the hope that something may really be accomplished. In the simpler days, before the war, various reform proposals, such as Greenbackism, the general strike, etc., seemed practicable and promising. Today much more thoroughgoing measures seem to be required, and there is the feeling of helplessness resulting from the failure of all previous attempts at reform.

There are many indications that American workers are coming to a dim feeling that only a very drastic, even revolutionary, change in the economic system will suffice to deliver them from the ills from which they suffer. Many of them are beginning to remark that "maybe we need the same thing as has been done in Russia." One of them said to me last winter, when urged to help in building industrial unions and a labor party, "What is the use of any of these things? One of these days the whole system will go to smash and then we will all turn Bolshevik, but until then there isn't anything much to be done."

The plunge, however, into the troubled water of revolution no class ever takes until conditions force it. In the period preceding such a crisis the masses are apt to feel like the man who is confronted with a serious operation. He is certain to die if he does not undergo it. And there is a good chance that he may die if he does undergo the operation. Naturally he

will be inclined to wait as long as possible before he takes the leap.

Finally, any analysis of the mood in which American workers find themselves at the present time must take account of the fact to which I have called attention in previous issues of LABOR AGE, that the generation of American workers which has come to industry since 1914 is more illiterate and ignorant about political and economic matters than any other working class in the world, or than the American working class itself in any previous period. This present generation of workers has never been exposed to



In The Winter of 1931-32

any progressive or radical philosophy. It has been brought up on automobiles, jazz, radio and prosperity hokum. Until very recently it talked about nothing else. Being ignorant of fundamental social and economic forces it is bewildered, and naturally dumb, in the face of the sudden economic change which it has encountered. People who are ignorant and bewildered will not engage in rebellion.

If this be a reasonably accurate analysis of the reasons why American workers have been so passive in spite of the fact that six million of them are unemployed, at least as many more working such short time that they cannot support their families on their wages, and hundreds of thousands of them compelled to hang around in the corridors of charity societies waiting for a dole, then what conclusions may

we draw as to the chances of a more active and militant spirit developing among them in the year ahead?

I venture the prediction that whatever may be the course of events, we shall see a more rebellious spirit and an intensification of labor activity. The strikes of the last summer in the coal regions of Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Kentucky; the revolt among the textile workers in New England, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, indicate that a change in the temperature of the American working class has already taken place. If the depression continues and becomes more severe, then we shall see serious spontaneous outbreaks on the part of the most exploited farmers and workers. Doubtless there will also be considerable accessions to the working class political parties now existing, or a movement for the building up of new political organizations. On the other hand, as soon as there is a slight improvement in business conditions, and workers who have jobs feel a little more assurance that they are going to be able to keep them, we are bound to witness numerous efforts on the part of workers to organize on the economic field, to strike and to get back the wages which are being taken from them in the terrific wage-slashing campaign which is now under way.

In any event, capitalism in the United States is not going to be in a position again to create even that illusion of prosperity which held the workers spell-bound from 1924 to 1929. Consequently, it is also certain that we shall not have the utter dullness and lifelessness which characterized the labor movement and the general mood of the working class during that period.

That the structure of capitalist economy is severely shaken will not occasion any tears among us. That we are likely to see more intense labor activity in the months ahead is, of course, occasion for rejoicing. And yet we may well shudder and shrink back even in the presence of that fact.

Consider that we live in the mightiest capitalist nation. Consider that if it is going to be difficult to affect

fundamental economic changes in countries like Great Britain and Germany, the job is bound to be infinitely more difficult in the United States. Consider that we have practically no labor movement at all, or indeed that we are worse off than if we had no labor movement and were in a position to start with an absolutely clean slate. Apart from certain exceptions, our labor movement will serve as an obstacle in the way of building of militant industrial unions and the development of effective labor political action.

Consider the helplessness that would possess us if in the immediate future a major crisis were to seize the capitalist economy in the United States, and the labor movement were called upon to take the helm.

Much will have to be said on this point in our studies during the ensuing year. One thing may now be said without hesitation or qualification. There is a crying need of the right kind of workers' education in the United States today.

Workers' education, on the one hand, for the masses of the people, to acquaint them with the facts of the political and economic order under which they live, and to develop in them a new point of view and spirit—to make them labor-minded rather than capitalist-minded, as many of them still are today.

Still more, I believe, we need the right kind of workers' education for those active spirits and leaders, upon whom in the last analysis, effective action chiefly depends. If we are to build industrial unions and to develop a labor party, for example, it will have to be done by a minority with a militant spirit. At this very moment there are a dozen jobs, into which Brookwood and C.P.L.A.ers might step, but

the people with the background, the training and the courage to handle those jobs are lacking. The dearth of active workers and leaders in the radical movement is appalling. If on the other hand, it proved too late to build functioning industrial unions and a labor party in this country, because the crisis of capitalism is developing too rapidly, then there is even a more urgent need of young, active, militant and trained workers who can take hold of the situation and help to build a new economic order.

Not only must these young workers be trained, if an appalling tragedy is not to overtake the American labor movement, but they must be organized as the C.P.L.A. is trying to organize them into effectively functioning groups. For it is not by isolated individual effort but by concerted action in such industries as textiles, steel, automobiles, and in connection with the development of labor political strength, that results can be obtained. Just as truly as a militant labor movement needs the trained workers that Brookwood is able to provide, so does Brookwood need the organization of militant working class activity through which its graduates may function. If such organization does not exist their efforts at the best will be weak, and at the worst they will be a prey in the long run to complete discouragement and disillusionment.

To such workers' education as this you are now being welcomed. If you were today in the trenches in West Virginia, Allentown or Paterson, as many of you have been during the past summer, we should expect you to be honest, loyal, able to forget petty differences and to concentrate on essentials, able to work with those from whose opinions you may differ, expect

you to be courageous and to work faithfully and persistently. This is also what we expect of you during this year here at Brookwood, for Brookwood is not a school in a conventional sense, an academic institution, but an integral part of the struggle of the workers in America and throughout the world to improve their conditions, to protect and extend their rights, to abolish planless profiteering capitalism, and to build in its place a planned economy under workers' control.

"Thanks For LABOR AGE"

" . . . I might tell you that there has been such a demand for LABOR AGE in the Cleveland Public Library that they have put it out on the public display rack with the rest of the popular magazines."

So writes a subscriber from Cleveland.

Which goes to show that the workers of this country are awakening, and that they do want to know about the system under which they toil and starve, and about the struggles of their fellow workers.

• • •

IN NEXT ISSUE OF LABOR AGE

will appear articles dealing with:
"International Conditions in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers"

**"The Power Barons"
"Unemployed Workers"**

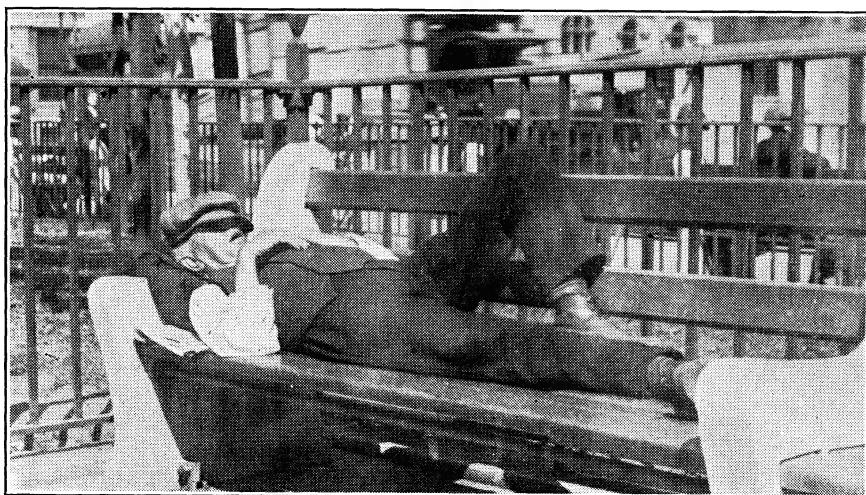
LABOR AGE,
104 Fifth Ave.,
New York N. Y.

I enclose \$1.00 for a six months' trial subscription to Labor Age.

Name

Street

City State.....



One of the Many Million Victims of "Rugged Individualism"

SHORT CUTS to the Revolution

By COMMENTATOR

THE present economic crisis has dealt a heavy blow to the confidence of many Americans in the present social order. Following immediately in the wake of the "Golden Era" of record-breaking profits and sky-rocket speculation, the Stock Exchange crash and the subsequent depression, suddenly transformed oft-repeated peans of praise for American capitalism into hymns of hate and cries of despair.

The petty-bourgeoisie, the professional, the intellectual and some better paid workers, were struck particularly hard. Just when they had begun to enjoy a few crumbs from the overflowing golden harvest of profits, they found themselves rudely and suddenly pitched into the bottomless pit of the present depression. Many of these individuals are now scraping the bottom of their scanty savings or are actually in the ranks of the unemployed. Some are now on the city breadlines. And the future looks black indeed.

As a direct result of the present depression there is a marked swing to the left among American intellectuals—a loss of faith in American capitalism, a demand for a revolutionary change in present-day society, and the substitution of a planned economy in place of capitalist chaos and disorder. Widespread sympathy and interest has turned toward the Soviet Union, where the conception of a new society for the welfare of the many and not for the profits of the few, is actually being hammered into concrete form. A new crop of intellectuals, awakened by the impact of the depression, have thrown in their lot with the working class. This fact is of more than passing interest and significance to the labor movement.

In his Communist Manifesto, Marx early pointed out this historical process, in these words, "a small part of the ruling class breaks away to make common cause with the revolutionary class, the class which holds the future in its hands. . . . Especially does this happen in the case of some of the bourgeois ideologists, who have achieved a theoretical understanding of the historical movement as a whole."

While history has demonstrated that intellectuals won over to the cause of labor have often given the labor movement valuable leadership and a broader understanding of the movement as a whole, yet there are many instances where intellectuals with an incorrect outlook and training have been most injurious in their influence. Of such elements Lenin in his "Left Wing Communism—An Infantile Disorder," speaks in the most scathing terms, when he says, "The petty bourgeois . . . whose conditions of life often take a sharp and rapid turn for the worse, moves easily when faced with ruin to extreme revolutionism, but is incapable of displaying consistency, organization, discipline and firmness." He refers to them as "Petty bourgeois, 'gone mad' from the horrors of capitalism."

There are a number of striking and significant evidences among our own intelligentsia of the tendencies so sharply condemned by Lenin. The tendencies spring from a series of definite causes. First there is the suddenness and the devastating character of the depression, which when measured from the high point of the period of prosperity in 1929 to the lowest point yet reached, is far more serious in its proportions than that experienced by any other capitalist country. One might therefore naturally expect an unusually far-reaching ideological swing to extremes. A second cause is the theoretical backwardness of our country, where Marxism is still considered a foreign importation, and where a sound understanding of revolutionary theory is so sadly lacking. Thirdly the average American intellectual is totally ignorant of the development and incompetent character of the official leadership of the labor and Socialist movements creating legitimate impatience with present methods in these organizations. Add to these the encouragement given by the leadership and the official utterances of the Communist Party of the United States to the policy of insane and unrealistic leftism and the picture is fairly complete.

This jumping at short cuts to the

revolution, this attitude of revolutionary impatience is not new in the history of Socialist and Communist parties. It has been fought tirelessly by the leaders of these movements from the very earliest days, as a tendency which is dangerous. When the Communist Blanquists declared, "We are Communists because we wish to attain our aim directly, without stopping at intermediary stations, without any compromises, which only postpone the day of victory and prolong the period of slavery," Engels replied, "What childish naivete—to put forward one's own impatience as a theoretical argument." How does this tendency manifest itself among our own "revolutionary intellectuals" of today?

There seems to be a belief that the overthrow of capitalism can be brought about over night in some miraculous way. All that is necessary is to inject the revolutionary serum into the workers' veins in some ingenious way and, presto, the job is done. But unfortunately for these magicians, history simply does not work that way. The masses of the workers do not learn through propaganda and agitation alone. Only the most advanced are capable of digesting theory. The broad masses learn through their own political experience. "Without an alteration in the views of the majority of the working class," says Lenin in his "Left Wing Communism," "revolution is impossible; and this change can be brought about by the political experience of the masses only, and never through propaganda alone."

Take the example of Russia. Here was a most brazen and tyrannical autocracy, ruling in the bloodiest manner with the knout and the sword. And yet according to Lenin, "Russia has attained Marxism, the only revolutionary theory, by dint of fifty years travail and sacrifice, through the greatest revolutionary heroism, the most incredible energy and devotion in seeking, educating, practical experience, disappointment, checking and comparison with European experience." On the other hand the American workers, economically in a privileged position

for a long period, are just beginning to feel the knife edge of capitalism at its worst. American workers are still wandering confusedly in the fog of capitalist democracy, voting for Hoover and Al Smith.

Russia, previous to the revolution of 1917, had passed through a severe training school in 1905, during which period "one month—was equivalent to a whole year of 'peaceful,' 'constitutional' development." (Lenin). Unfortunately we have not yet had our 1905, which does not mean that we will have to wait another fifty years, but it does mean that we too will have to go through the necessary preliminary training and experience. There is every reason to believe that the American workers will profit by the experience of their Russian brothers in absorbing with far greater speed their revolutionary education, particularly at the rate things are moving today.

Overlooking this need of training and experience, we find a tendency to treat with contempt the tedious task of carrying on day to day activity in the conservative unions, where there are still three million workers, who have had the foresight, courage, and intelligence to build unions, and who are daily subjected to vicissitudes of capitalist oppression. In fact there is a feeling that the time has passed when we must fight for such paltry things as wages, hours, and better conditions. What we have to worry about is the big thing—the revolution which is just around the corner.

We find this attitude expressed in both the Socialist and Communist parties in contrasting forms. In the Socialist Party we find the contempt for trade union work expressed in the concentration of effort on parliamentary election campaigns, and abstract propaganda about Socialism coupled with a direct alliance with corrupt trade union officials, the entire policy being glossed over with the veneer of the slogan of neutrality in the trade unions.

In the Communist Party on the other hand, we find the tendency to lump all trade union struggles into a confused mess with a lot of general political issues within their own new revolutionary unions, which are not actually unions, in the sense of economic organizations fighting for the every-day interests of the workers, but rather political propaganda agencies. Economic issues are brushed aside. Inopportune and extreme political slogans are placed in the foreground, thus narrowing the movement to the Communists and their closest sympathizers.

How appropriate the words of Len-

in, uttered at a time when he was combatting similar tendencies. "For the whole of the Communist problem," he said, "is to be able to *convince* the backward to work in their *midst*, and not to set up a *barrier* between us and them, a barrier of artificial childishly 'left' slogans. . . . Because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary heads of the Trade Unions, they (the German 'Left' Communists) jump, by some inexplicable mental process, to the conclusion that it is necessary to abandon these organizations altogether! . . . Not to work within the reactionary Trade Unions means to leave the insufficiently developed and backward working masses to the influence of reactionary leaders. . . . The development of the proletariat did not and could not, anywhere in the world, proceed by any other road than that of the Trade Unions, with their mutual activity with the working-class party." It is in the painful struggle against wage cuts, speed-up, discrimination, and in campaigning for unemployment insurance that the workers are organized and trained for the final struggle against their oppressors. There is no other shorter road.

To those intellectuals who are just now entering the revolutionary movement a timely word of warning is necessary. Mere enthusiasm, particularly if it is limited to a few, will never overthrow such a mighty power as American capitalism. Only through the most patient, systematic organized effort will the broad mass of the workers be trained for the job. The revolutionist of the phrase will play but a passing and futile role in the building up of a genuine revolutionary movement. To count in the revolutionary movement, one must remember that "politics is a science and an art which does not drop from the skies, and which cannot be obtained for nothing; and that the proletariat, if it wishes to overcome the bourgeoisie, must create for itself its own proletarian, 'class politicians,' as capable as bourgeois politicians." (Lenin). It will be such professional revolutionists, working in an energetic, careful, systematic and scientific manner, on the basis of a correct analysis of objective conditions who will render real and distinguished service to the workers of America in their struggle to overthrow the present iniquitous capitalist system.

New York Labor Forum

OPENS ~ ~

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 18, 8 P. M.

This Forum, dealing with world affairs, economic conditions and developments in the labor movement, will be conducted at 128 East 16th Street every Sunday evening at 8 P. M., by men and women actively engaged in the business of building a militant, progressive labor movement in this country.

A. J. MUSTE

Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and Director of Brookwood Labor College will be the opening speaker. His subject will be:

THE OUTLOOK FOR AMERICAN LABOR IN THE WINTER OF 1931-32

Look for further announcements of the Forum and of C. P. L. A. classes soon to be started.

Information can be obtained at Headquarters,
128 EAST 16th STREET, NEW YORK
(Phone: STuyvesant 9-2131)

ADMISSION 25 CENTS
Two Dollars for a series of 10 lectures.

Socialist Congress in Vienna

By
CHARLES
KRAMARSKY

THE Second International collapsed with the outbreak of the war. Its strongest parties defied internationalism, became nationalist patriots and supported the war.

Right after the war, two internationals were formed—one of the social patriots who supported the war, and the second of those socialists who remained faithful to Internationalism during the war. This latter International was called the Second-and-a-Half International, and was ideologically closer to the Communist International than to the Second. There was a time when it seemed that the Second-and-a-Half and the Third International would unite. But the Communist tactics and their famous 21 points pushed those in the Second-and-a-Half International toward the social patriots.

In 1923 the present Socialist and Labor International was formed of the social patriots and the International Socialists.

Since the present International was inaugurated, the Socialists of the Second-and-a-Half International have not exercised any influence on the work and policies of the International.

The present International did not make any attempt to influence its affiliated parties to repudiate their war policies. The entire work and ideology of the International was reformistic. The Center Socialists have kept quiet at the last three Congresses. All decisions and resolutions were adopted unanimously. The recent Vienna Congress was the first in the post-war International that demonstrated that there are differences of opinion in the Socialist International; that there is an organized left opposition demanding a clean, open stand by the International on war, and militarism; and it asked for pure class struggle policies instead of Coalition governments.

The majority of the Congress introduced a resolution that the Socialist Parties shall demand through their respective governments from the disarmament conference called by the League of Nations in 1932 that all kinds of arms shall be reduced to a certain amount. The opposition proposed the following resolution (the main paragraphs): "The International

labor and socialist movement calls upon its affiliated parties and upon the working class of all countries to intensify their opposition to imperialism and war, and to renew their determination to establish an International socialist commonwealth based upon the political and social freedom and fraternity of all peoples.

"The Internationalization of economic life following the World War has not only failed to eliminate economic opposition between the various capitalist groups which constitutes a source of permanent danger to peace, but has even intensified such opposition. The peace treaties have created points of inflammation in various parts of the world which systematically foment the danger of war. The victory of Fascism in a number of countries, its progress in others, and the keen hostility of certain international imperialist groups to the Soviet Union have still further intensified the existing threat to peace.

"These constant dangers of war are intensified by the situation in Germany, where the strengthening of the nationalist parties, arising from the financial crisis and their exploitation of the injustices imposed by the peace treaties threatens the peace of Europe.

"The Congress calls on all socialist parties to offer energetic and systematic resistance to the existing menace of peace, and to exert the utmost revolutionary pressure on their governments to prevent the outbreak of any threatened war. Should war break out notwithstanding, the Congress calls upon the socialist parties to organize the masses under the slogan, 'End the war by overthrowing the capitalist order of society.' In accordance with the decision of the International at Stuttgart and Copenhagen which runs as follows:

'In case war should break out notwithstanding they shall be bound to intervene for its being

brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their force for utilizing the economic and political crisis created by the war, in order to rouse the masses of the people and hasten the breakdown of the predominance of the capitalist class.'

"The Congress declares that socialist parties can only fight effectively for peace, if they abstain from any policy of collaboration with parties favorable to capitalism, and so to militarism and war. In particular the Congress warns the socialist parties against the disastrous policy of Civil peace during the war.

"The Congress warns the working masses against illusions concerning the League of Nations and its efforts to secure disarmament, which simply serves the capitalist classes as a cloak for the imperialistic policy. The Congress declares that the surest guarantee for the effectiveness of the proletarian struggle against armaments and capitalist wars consist in the readiness of the working class to transform such a war into a proletarian revolution."

The opposition, by this resolution, called the attention of the working class to the fact that the present International has not a clear International socialist stand to war and imperialism, that its affiliated parties did not repudiate their war policies. In many cases they have shown they are still social patriots, that there is a danger in case a war will break out that they will again support it. The opposition proposes a real socialist policy on how the working class shall prevent war and how the working class can end war by turning the war into a proletarian revolution.

The Congress voted for the majority resolution which does not express the Socialist view about war and imperialism, but a bourgeois pacifist point of view. The Congress did not dare

to vote down the resolution of the opposition but referred it to a special conference of the Executive of the Socialist International and the Executive of the Trade Union International to consider. The representatives of the opposition will not hesitate to fight for the adoption of this resolution.

Comrade M. Hillquit in behalf of the American delegation made a statement that the latter would vote for the majority resolution because it was proposed by both Executives of the Socialist International and I. F. T. U., but he went on to say that this resolution does not express the socialist view on such important problems as war, imperialism, and militarism.

The American S. P. was the only one in the Second International which opposed the war. It was the duty, therefore, of the American Socialists in the present International to take every chance to criticize the war policies of those parties which helped the capitalist governments to conduct the war and to demand from the International a clear stand as to war.

The American socialists kept quiet eight years, and when in Vienna the opposition proposed a socialist stand to war, the Americans did not vote for it. The statement of M. Hillquit is merely a childish excuse, because socialists do not vote for proposals on the ground of who proposed them but on the ground of the principles involved. If the American delegation did not vote for the resolution of the opposition but only for the majority, it might be an indication that the S. P. agrees now with the war policies of the social patriots of other countries.

The first part of the Bauer Resolution asked for Credits to Germany. Maxton, from the I. L. P., who spoke in behalf of the opposition, was perfectly right when he asked Otto Bauer who shall give the credit to Germany. The governments have no money, the only ones that give credits are the bankers, so it means that the Socialist International is asking Morgan and others for credit for Germany. Fine work! for the International!

With the credits for Germany is involved a very important problem of

socialist tactics. Germany is affected by a deep crisis today. England is going through a crisis now. All capitalist countries are affected by a depression. They are ready for a crisis of capitalism. Shall the socialists ask for credit for Germany? Shall the socialists be interested in helping the capitalist governments handle their crises and maintain capitalism? Or shall the socialists tell the workers that the present crisis is a crisis of capitalism, and that it can only be solved when the socialists will get power? And then on other questions: When the socialists come to power, shall they continue to conduct capitalism as the Labor Government in England, as the socialists have done in a number of countries the last 10 years, or shall the socialist government start immediately after coming to power, socialization work to bring in socialism in a certain length of time.

The majority of the Congress is still of the opinion that the last two years' work of the socialists who have done everything in their power to help to solve the capitalist crisis, is right and it ought to be continued. The opposition of the Congress criticized these policies and asked that the socialist parties shall not work with the capitalist parties to help them solve the contradictions and evils of capitalism but to take advantage of these defects in order to come to power and to start socializing the main industries.

Socialism and the socialist movement is living through a great tragedy. For the last 12 years, most socialist parties have been involved or active supporters of imperialist wars. After the end of the war the socialist parties became great political powers, but they did not take advantage of this power to weaken capitalism and to introduce gradually collectivism, but they harnessed the working class to the capitalist wagon and then told them to drag it and make sacrifices for it. The opposition of the Vienna Congress has taken on a task to make an end of the tragical position in which socialism finds itself. The opposition asked that preparatory work start among the workers all over the world in case of

war, that they shall act as internationalists. The opposition asked a stop to the coalition governments to save capitalism, and to work for labor governments, and establish socialism. The opposition was a small minority, being only 5 votes.

This, however, does not represent the influence of the opposition, as each country voted as a unit. It is true that according to the constitution, delegates have a right to vote separate, but the rule of voting as units was agreed to and no delegation wanted to show a split by breaking this rule. On one day the vote of the French delegation did split, two votes being cast with the opposition, but the next day harmony was restored and the French delegation thereafter voted as a unit with the majority.

All sincere and honest Socialists, all class conscious workers who have suffered from the tragedy of the socialist movement can save socialism by supporting the opposition's principles and point of view, and see to it that the next Socialist Congress shall really be historical and start a new epoch in socialism.

Are YOU That One?

In every city and town in these United States, in every shop, mill and mine, there is at least one who is not satisfied with being merely a passive reader; one who wants to be a doer. Perhaps that one is yourself.

LABOR AGE is anxious to establish contacts with active militants throughout the United States to distribute our paper to newsdealers, to solicit subscriptions and to conduct systematic sales before factory gates.

Write for special rates on bundle orders and for information about commissions on subscriptions to LABOR AGE, 104 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

DO WE NEED A NEW PARTY?

¶ The following articles continue the discussion of the political question raised by the C. P. L. A. report on political organization published in the August issue of Labor Age.—EDITOR'S NOTE.

FOR A NEW PARTY

I have before me a statement in 22 mimeograph pages from D. Benjamin, N. Christos, V. Cibulsky, E. Dorf, M. Rock, H. Shaines, B. Stern, E. Wright and L. Lerner, criticizing the C.P.L.A. for their plans to come out for a Revolutionary Party. They are also criticizing, what they term your thesis on that subject. I think they are basing their arguments on unsound foundation. I also think their arguments are full of loop holes and, from them I can't see where they know very much about the working class. While I don't know any of the signers of the statement, have neither met or heard from them, I gather from their statement that they are just another bunch of professional critics trying to solve the workers problems at a desk some place. I would like to know what and who they are.

The statement is headed "Against The Launching of Another Labor Party, for the Organization of a Campaign for a Labor Party and for the Building Up of a Real Progressive Labor Movement in This Country." They take the attitude that the C.P.L.A. should remain a scotch block for all the mistakes and failures of all the movements, that it should always work without a clearcut program, that to do anything else would be its death. Speaking as a worker and representing several groups of textile workers in the South, we can't agree with the statement. We have witnessed the A. F. of L. at work in the South, we have also seen the N.T.W. at work. We have stayed on the field after the battles, and we, I think, know better than the signers of the statement what will deliver us from slavery. And we are looking to the C.P.L.A. as the bridge that we can cross. The C.P.L.A., so far, is the only organization to do any constructive work in the South, and it was able to do this without the clearcut program, and had it been more clearcut it could have done more than it did. They say it should be just what it is and on the next page criticize it for being what it is.

We are of the opinion that the C.P.L.A. is better acquainted with the South than any party or movement. We also think that if the C.P.L.A. comes out with a Party, that it is coming out with some-

thing that will spread over the South like wild fire. To sit behind a desk, like the signers of the statement have done, and make a statement on what should be done, and to go out in the field, like some of the heads of the C.P.L.A. have done, and see just what is needed is different and we are ready to go with C.P.L.A. in the new Party.

LARRY HOGAN, Chairman
Southern Industrial League

EDUCATION BY ACTION

The "Report on Political Organization" in the August issue of *Labor Age* as an analysis of the present situation and an attack against the present system; as a program for workers' needs now and in the future, and as a criticism of existing labor organizations—Socialist and Communist parties, trade unions—is excellent as a paper statement. No thinking man or woman with a true labor viewpoint could disagree with it. But the question is, how to bring about the changes necessary for the New Society of which the Report speaks.

Points I should like to raise are: If there is now not a sufficiently significant minority in each of the groups mentioned to be effective, will these minority groups, if they come out of these organizations and join a new party, have a voice that will be heard? On the other hand, if there are significant minorities present in the Socialist party, the Communist party, and the trade unions, is it not possible through their activity to capture these organizations? For here at least are skeleton forms which can be used at once; here are men and women who have organizational experience and perhaps ability as well. The "considerable number of workers and those interested in the aims of labor, who do not now have any political organization in which they find it possible to function enthusiastically and confidently" could "undergo the training and discipline necessary for arduous working-class activity" and work through existing organizations. Where no organizations exist, local, state and national units could be enlarged. It seems to me that if there is enough good militant material from which to build a new party, this material could be drafted to capture existing

workers' organizations, if the program were made clear.

The big problem before us is, I think, how to eliminate from labor organizations those elements which make for mixed points of view in fundamentals. Witness, for instance, the motley membership of the Socialist Party and the League for Industrial Democracy.

If, however, we grant that the existing labor organizations as at present set-up cannot be utilized, do we now have enough educators and organizers to establish a workers' party, locally, in the states, and nationally? And if we are to build a new party, where are the finances for instituting the program outlined to come from?

Unless the plan is for a dictatorship of the proletariat, I would suggest that energies be bent towards organizing classes of workers, particularly among the unemployed who are now partially at least ripened in the thought that there is something wrong with the present order, and who are wondering how and why the present situation arose, and what can be done about it. I believe that educating thousands of workers in the fundamentals of working class economics will be far more effective than electing a candidate or two to office. We see what parliamentary procedure has done for the workers in England. I say that unless we expect a revolution within the next decade education of the workers in militant industrial unionism, working-class political action and in co-operation enterprise is the program to be stressed to develop a genuine labor culture.

Now for a few minor criticisms of the article. In the very first paragraph the article reads: "Our economic system has broken down. The breakdown is both tragic and absurd." I take exception to that last word "absurd." Though the breakdown is indeed tragic, what we are facing today is the inevitable result of capitalism.

On page five the second paragraph of the heading, "The System Cannot be Made to Work" should be clarified. It should be clearly understood, I think, that not only must workers receive a high wage but must also receive a much higher percentage of the national income than they did even in the heyday of prosperity.

Then in the concrete, immediate items of a workers' party, planned production and planned distribution, and a drastic cut of the work day and the work week should be included.

HILDA R. DIAMOND

FOR INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

In response to your invitation in "Labor Age", August number, for discussion of your proposal to formulate a third party, I am writing.

Your introduction to the discussion which you invite, is thoroughly comprehensive and miscellaneous, covering nearly every angle of the American situation, that little new may be introduced. Therefore, I shall only attempt to go over some of the many things that have already been discussed.

That there is a stagnation of progressive and revolutionary labor activity in the U. S., at a time when capitalism seems in a final breakdown, is a claim in which I wholly concur. Moreover, I endorse the notion that if some attempt at relief, on the part of labor, is not encouraged and does not materialize, we must surely succumb to fascism, I believe that that is generally conceded by every student who has gone honestly into the matter.

The criticisms of existing political parties — Socialist and Communist — is just; they do not embrace the vast majority of American workers, and neither do they seem capable to do so. I don't believe the leaders of the two parties would even take serious exception to the criticism. The important thing to consider is, can we correctly determine why the workers don't support, to any considerable extent, either of these parties? Can their reluctance be charged to any plausible or demonstrated impracticability of the parties' platforms? Or, are they reluctant from fear of economic consequences? In such premises we must conclude, first, what may be added or rejected in the platforms; or we must determine action to overcome their fear in participation.

There is meager validity in criticising a whole class because it won't move in the direction of its own interests. However, that is precisely the case. It would appear, then, that the working class must be educated to a knowledge of its status. In such a campaign we must pursue the

A. B. C.'s of economics. In other words, a political party, if such could be built, that contained a flexibility of following the ability of the masses to react to revolutionary doctrines, adding such portions of revolutionary preachers, from time to time, as were necessary to keep the morale of the masses in a healthy progressive state, working openly and upward toward the revolution, but by stratas. The objection to such a method is that political parties, of any group propagating a plan of social action, have never been able to undergo any sort of transition; if they become obsolete, and serve no useful end, they die. It is true, moreso, of political parties, perhaps, because, under careful analysis, they are subsidiary movements reflecting economic requirements.

What may be adduced to encourage belief that the masses will respond to a

revolutionary party with a new name, and organization? If it is fear of revolution that keeps the workers out of the old parties, will they not also fear a new brand of revolution? If a liberal, or reformist, programme is offered, radicals will not support it—and will it have the energy to survive? Nevertheless, there is a large portion of discontented farmers and workers who would rally to the support of a liberal party, who are, as yet, afraid of revolution. But the question arises, would it be for the best interest of the militant movement to organize such a party, or would it be a sort of compromise with capitalism, which would strengthen the forces of fascism? If we proceed on the theory that such a liberal party would protect the activities of the revolutionary groups, we might consistently work for its formation; but it is not the history of such movements. At

the same time we have a distinct case in our own fight for emancipation, that is somewhat different from that in any other country, and we must find ourselves. A liberal party might be efficient as a means of showing the working class the truth of revolutionary claims.

However, I am inclined to believe, there is no demand arising out of the ranks of labor for a third party, with revolutionary tendencies. The time is not yet ripe. Progress in the social revolution, henceforth, in the United States, will be the result of courage rather than theories; but, somewhere in the future, still latent, lies a great potential movement that will gradually take shape, as capitalism continues to fail, and find its way into action. Meanwhile we must continue to spread the news of social revolution, always keeping in mind that great industrial unions are indispensable to our hope.

In the onslaught of that great Day of Hope, the morning of the Red Dawn; comrades of the C. P. L. A., I sincerely hope that you will assiduously cling to your avowed posts and remain untiring, uncompromising soldiers.

Yours for Industrial Revolution.

ARNO HALL

I Am A "Red"

By Bruce Crawford,

in Crawford's Weekly, Norton, Va.

I believe the law should apply equally to all people and should not be an instrument of employers for keeping underpaid workers in subjection.

I believe public authority should not be usurped by private interests and enforced by Chicago gunmen and ex-convicts.

I believe the government through its county officers should not turn gangsters and bomb soup kitchens, dynamite workers' cars and shoot representatives of the press from ambush.

I believe striking miners should be allowed to go to the United States postoffice or company property for their mail without being intimidated or manhandled.

I believe that a worker should not be charged with criminal syndicalism and held without bond for having in his possession a copy of the *Survey Graphic*.

I believe the state should not send a man to jail whose only offense is an attempt to visit the sick and feed the hungry.

I believe a coal miner should not be compelled to pay \$1.59 for a bag of flour at the company store when he can get it elsewhere for 60 cents.

I believe that a coal company should not compel Negro workers to support a white Baptist church which they would be lynched for entering.

I believe a preacher in sympathy with striking miners should be allowed to quote Moses to them without being jailed for criminal syndicalism.

I believe workers should have the same right to join unions to keep wages up as employers have to join associations to keep wages down.

I believe friends of imprisoned miners should be permitted to work up their defense without being jailed or run out of the county by officers of the court.

I believe a judge with coal company connections and violent anti-labor prejudices should not be permitted to sentence miners to long prison terms or death for rebelling against peonage and conditions which mean perpetual starvation.

If this be red, let the yellows make the most of it.

THE FIVE DAY PLAN

As you feel some dissatisfaction with existing parties I ask you to consider the following plan:

Income Tax

100 per cent on Incomes above \$50,000

Inheritance Tax

100 per cent Inheritances above \$100,-

000 to each dependent

Use these Taxes

For Social Insurance

For Public Works

For Education

* * *

Securing these taxes would lay the foundation for the whole relief program. So small a profit would stay in the pockets of the rich owners that incentive for low wages and long hours would be removed. The profit-system era would be closed! Also the jobless era!

Violent revolution seems to have a more popular appeal than Socialism; for it has fewer details to be explained and it is swifter in action. My lawful plan, though comprehensive, is brief and swift. Also it can be kept a non-partisan plan!

As I see it, the plan could be made the law of the land within five days after the opening of Congress—for we have law and constitution on our side.

Backward countries need five-year plans for industrial development—to solve their problem of production. In America, with the perfecting of machinery throughout 150 years, the problem of production has been solved. In discussing Russia we concentrate on her five-year plan of production, which we do not need; we neglect to emphasize her swiftly executed plan of distribution, which is our supreme need. The Five-Day Plan will solve our problem of distribution in as short a time as Russia required.

Just as the five-year plan is an all-Russian plan, so this Five-Day Plan could be made the great American plan; if kept non-partisan it could be urged in labor meetings, in hunger parades, in major and minor elections. Petitions could be circularized, banners could be carried in marches, placards could be placed on property of friendly owners.

Marching under a non-partisan five-day plan banner, understanding what they want, and what they want it for, hoping to get it before they starve, the people could drown out the babel now heard on every side with a demanding, commanding voice that would be indeed the voice of God. We don't need time, we need determination! We are racing with a reign of terror! There is not a moment to lose!

The Five-Day Plan cuts across party lines and national boundaries.

Workers of the world, and would-be workers of the world, unite! Be Five-Day Planners!

MILDRED HICKS.

LETTERS FROM WORKERS

Release Mooney and Billings

The Wickersham-Commission, supposedly appointed to investigate the crimes of "law-upholders," has most cowardly suppressed its report on the Mooney and Billings case. It would have exposed too bluntly the frame-up of the Government in California.

The Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee accuses the leaders of the American Federation of Labor as not having done their level best to aid in obtaining justice for two of its own members.

Although the case has already become known throughout the world as the American Dreyfus case, yet, the men still find themselves imprisoned for the fifteenth year!

Only an aroused Public Opinion can bring their release.

As one who has given ten years to bring forth the voices of four hundred of humanity's poets in protest against every form of injustice, and in behalf of Liberty (through the publication of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry") and as one who only last year was dragged about three jails within two weeks—in the very same California (for having edited the Anthology), I have decided to do all I can in arousing Public

Opinion for these two innocent men.

Who is responsible for the continued Imprisonment of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings?

All literary, liberal and radical organizations, as well as student bodies of Universities, with the moral aid of the fair-minded press of their vicinities, should arrange mass-meetings for the liberation of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

Whatever voluntary contributions will be raised at these meetings should be forwarded to the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, P. O. Box 1475 L. San Francisco, Cal.

MARCUS GRAHAM.

The City of "Angels"

Dear Friends:

I am in the city of Angels ten days. All I see is peace and prosperity—the dirt is covered up with magnificent decorations—we are celebrating the 150th Anniversary. One hundred and fifty years ago the handsome Spanish Conquistadores entered this beautiful valley and made it a part of the Spanish Empire. Today the only Spaniards left are the Mexican poor who are exploited mercilessly and more often deported en masse to their home towns.

Now, however, the Mexican section is

the most decorated and feted part of the city. The plaza—a miniature Union Square—is the center of activities. The old Indian potters even have on display their wares without any interference from the law. We hold parades and festivities every day. There are speeches and songs to all who helped make the city what it is today. Hundreds of people witness these parades daily, many standing for hours with empty stomachs—not having enough money to pay for even a cup of coffee.

I am working in a shop among Spanish girls, most of them under age. They work all hours and get very little pay. We had two days legal holiday last week, so our employer thought out a scheme to make up those two days. We were ordered to come at 7 a. m. and leave at 5:45 p. m. But our time cards were punched by the time keeper at 8 a. m. and 4:45 p. m., making it appear legal hours to the authorities.

I have visited various sections of the city and find that the rich here, as elsewhere, are overloaded with money and the poor overloaded with debts. And there is no semblance of any trade union activities. Even those who are doing their work under special order keep to themselves—no one needs another burden.

How about this news? It sounds stupid

from sunny California, eh? I'd like you to send the Labor Age, as I need it here. Have not seen a labor publication for weeks.

Greetings to all,
ROSE PESOTTA.

From a Steel Worker

Dear Editor:

Steel Mills in this vicinity are continually cutting wages. The Youngstown Sheet and Tube, sheet mill workers have had three cuts in wages since June 16. On this date we received a 10½ per cent cut, on August 16, another cut of 4 per cent. September 16, just a 3 per cent cut was handed us. On October 1, we will get another cut of 10 per cent. These cuts figure from 1 per cent to 10 per cent more than the company say they are cutting us. This means that our wages have been reduced from 27½ per cent to 50 per cent by the first of October.

When seven mills are working the company calls out fourteen crews for each shift of eight hours. Two crews to each mill, we work two hours and loaf two hours in the mills. We get paid for four hours but we have to stay in the mill eight hours.

Two days and a half is the average week's work in the steel mills now, but we have to be in the mills five days.

Bethlehem Steel is practically running the Sheet and Tube.

While steel stock continues down so does our pay. When stock goes up it will not mean so much to us workers. Because of improved machinery that is being installed to operate these machines it is just a case of punching buttons and pushing workers out to the line of unemployed.

J. T. Clark.

What Can I Do?

Dear Comrade:

Things are surely coming bad for the man who is trying to earn a living by his toil in this country of "prosperity."

I can see no light for the present. The system must undergo a complete change before there will be any marked improvement.

I do not know just what I will have to drift into. Things sure have been going bad at home. My wife died on July 30, leaving me with seven children to look after. I want to keep a home for the youngsters, if at all possible, but my luck has sure been bad the past year. She and I have made many sacrifices to try and improve the miners' conditions in _____ and I guess I will now have to give up this work and try to care for the children.

I have notice to vacate again unless I

can raise \$34.00 by August 27. This will make my third eviction in the past 18 months. I have tried to get work at all the mines but you can understand just what chance anyone who has been active for the miners has. I have been forced to accept charity during the past month. My desire is to work and not have to beg, but what can I do with seven hungry children?

I have been hoping that I can remain here until late fall as I have a garden that is just now beginning to produce, and I do not like to leave it.

I have received the Rank and File Miner from brother Keck, and also have some mail from Illinois. I am glad that these boys are working with a definite object in view. But I am very much disappointed with the National Policy Committee of St. Louis, as I really thought there would be some action taken.

The N. M. U. has sure put us in a bad way here, as at all the mines where they called men out, those who answered the call have been discharged, and by this the operators have again restored that awful fear in the heart of the miners. I only wish that you could meet the men here, and see for yourself how bad conditions are. They are even worse than in West Virginia, and getting worse in this wild-cat strike.

The Lewis outfit have a strike at a mine here and the way they give relief is to have girls sell a small tag on the streets. On the last tag day they collected \$28.32 to care for about 400 people. This is the modern "Lewis Relief System."

Well, I will keep in close touch with "Labor Age" and hope to hear from you often. If anything turns up that I may be of use in any way only let me know.

With very best wishes for the success of the movement,

Fraternally,

R.

An Appeal

Dear Comrades:

It has been two years since the Marion strike which ended so disastrously for the workers, but even yet the workers are suffering persecution from the court because of their strike activity. We have formed a Defense Committee in Marion to try to help the families of those who have just been given sentences by the court. Since we are living on small wages we are appealing to our friends to help us.

At the June term of court Leon Moore, nineteen years old, charged with dynamiting a house during the strike, was given a sentence of five to seven years. He had no lawyer, so the judge appointed one who did nothing to defend the boy.

Two other boys, George Styles and Bob Perkins, were given a year on the road for the same charge of dynamiting. In none of these cases was there any evidence of guilt brought out. In one of the three cases a man who spent most of his time in prison was brought from the jail to testify against the boys. On his evidence one of the boys was convicted. We want to undertake to get all three paroled, and in addition we want to make provisions for the families while the men are serving their terms.

Moore has no dependents, so we need money to secure help in getting him out. Perkins has three small children; Styles has two. His wife has been blacklisted. The children are crying for bread. To take care of the families and get the boys paroled, we must have \$350.

We realize that this is a bad time to ask people for money, but we believe there are people who can spare a small amount to help these men and their families against whom the laws of the state have worked such injustices. People like A. J. Muste, Tom Tippett, Louise McLaren and others who know the situation have indorsed this appeal. Please send contributions to Marion Defense Committee to Lawrence Hogan, Box 574, Marion, N. C.

"LARRY" HOGAN.

'Workers Are So Inconsiderate'

Dear Editor:

Just received a sample copy of Labor Age. I like it, immensely. I started in to mark each important and significant article for the benefit of a friend, to whom I shall give the copy. The result was that I marked about every article in the magazine.

I believe the C. P. L. A. is a vital and important organization and I am sending you a dollar to enter my name as a member. Also two dollars for a year's sub. to Labor Age.

But don't use my name in connection with this letter. My boss doesn't approve of anything more radical than the Salvation Army or The American Legion. And I am not ready to give up even the cheap job I have, yet, for the unemployed situation in this state is indeed critical. I am over 50 years old, and men of my age find it next to impossible to get a new job. A little more of Dr. Hoover's brand of Prosperity, and there will be a man's size revolution in this country. Workers are so inconsiderate that they refuse to lie down and starve to death, quietly.

A CALIFORNIA WORKER.

In Other Lands

GREAT BRITAIN

Few political revolutions happen over night unless they are military coup de'taots. Nothing in a hundred years equalled the big change of last month. It came with a bang, and for staid, easy going Britain it was bewildering. Sir Robert Peel, when he deserted the landlords and introduced the Corn Laws, only angered the country squires and quarter sessions magnates. The Irish Famine had prepared the way for the Free Trade entrance on the stage. Disraeli who threw away his liberal principles for the Tory leadership abandoned by the aristocrats did not cause anything more serious than a change of scenery in the political drama of London. The game went on as before, but given a brighter coloring by the clashes between O'Connell, Disraeli and Gladstone. It was however merely oratorical and seldom cut deep.

The big change last month was different. It was a revolution and a dictatorship accomplished without firing a shot. It was a drama concentrated in an hour. There was the "Lost Leader" who for a handful of silver and gold and a few headlines of applause deserted the cause. There was the inevitable villain, Thomas, without whom no play is complete. There was the sickly gladiator, Snowden, whose last burst of energy was to flash a gleaming sword for the enemy of his class and his party, and then stumbled out of the tent a beaten haggard old man hugging Cobden to his bosom. There were the usual noisy recriminations, charges and counter-charges. Among the veterans there were sad and painful regrets over the wrecking of old friendships. There were the inevitable sighs of relief from the Left. With one voice they shouted that the blood-letting and purification will do the Party good. "At last we can function as a party of the workers. The bankers' rump and the liberal purge is the best thing that could have happened to us and the party."

In the revaluation of men and parties many are finding that MacDonald went to where he properly belonged. Even the London Herald joins the Left Wing speakers and says MacDonald was not anti-war. The New Leader says McDonald was the most dangerous man in public life in that he had a genius for cloathing his reactionary conduct in idealistic phrases. This writer heard him wind up a most conservative speech with a beautiful reference to the "City on the hill to be builded by the workers of the future."

We say his tall form quiver and shake, and his face whiten and light up with emotion when battling the Lefts and hitting over their shoulders at the moderates. MacDonald was the perfect example of the careerist plumed and spurred, anxious only for his own pride of place. He was told he was a statesman and he believed it. His ego topped all, and nothing else counted. The Labor members in the House of Commons were but so many rungs to the ladder that he was using to climb to the seats of prominence. This son of a Highland Herd, with court dress in lieu of kilts, realized his dream and walked in the footsteps of Castlereagh, another great secretary of state.

In his new place MacDonald is not so nimble. His speech explaining his Kangaroo jump was rambling and incoherent. It lacked all the elements of great oratory. The reporters and correspondents however saved him. They cabled abroad only what helped him. Henderson's damning reply they cut and twisted. The stenographic report revealed that Henderson's story was a revelation of treachery on the part of MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas. That they yielded to the bankers all along the line. That when a concession was made the Tories and the bankers like Oliver Twist asked for more and they gave it to them. MacDonald talked of a typhoon and other calamities. But all the dire things that he and his associates in desertion were to ward off have come about anyway. The pound is not saved and there is no plan to balance trade. The hated tariff is to be law and the nightmare of a general election is to take place. Henderson, an organization man, but not of the Left, did not yield on the dole. He and his comrades would not seriously impair it. They objected to the proposal to put the workers through a blood-letting process for the benefit of bankers who had brought the country to bankruptcy. Henderson said bleed yourself and use your foreign investments to pull you out of the quick sands. Organized labor and practically the entire Labor Party stood by Henderson. The constituencies repudiated the jugglers and deserters. The treacherous trinity were left without a mandate or organization. But they made the Empire safe for the userer, the exploiter and the international banker.

What caused the big change. The

bankers loaned too freely. Much of their credit in Germany, Austria, Poland and elsewhere is frozen. Australia failed to pay its annual tribute—something like \$350,000,000. New Zealand had to get a loan. New Foundland was bankrupt. Chinese trade was in a slump on account of the fighting, the gold standard and Japanese competition. India trade was \$200 million less, due to the gold standard plus the boycott. When banks failed in Central Europe, American and French bankers got nervous. They demanded payment on the loans they made to London on call which the latter lost in Germany, Austria and Poland. Gold fled from London to Paris and New York. Panic seized the London financiers and they begged Wall Street and Paris for credits. They got some, but not enough. It was too late. The crash, like a prairie fire, could not be checked. And the great National Government with MacDonald and Snowden at the front confessed its helplessness. They abolished the gold standard. In this they have got into another sea of trouble, for it means ruin to their own middle class. The scheme to cut wages was like many another abortion stupidly planned. The navy men kicked it into a cocked hat and scared the life out of the bankers. The teachers and other civil servants are getting ready to fight the cuts aimed at them. Unemployment has reached the three million mark. The vicious circle grows wider and drags others into the whirl. One sees Revolution in the offing. The first and oldest capitalist nation is in a death grapple with forces of destruction inherent in itself.

Wages have been slashed during the past three months. Yet there were only a few small strikes. People are wondering, will the railway men renew their demand for nationalization of the roads which MacDonald sidetracked? Cook is up in arms and boldly calls for war. He was the first to see the significance of the MacDonald and bankers alliance. It is war he said. Will the miners remain silent?

The Trade Union Congress has spoken. Not an inch will the representatives of Labor yield to the bankers beyond a mild tariff concession of 10 per cent, and that with qualifications. A close study of the Congress work reveals a determination to stand by their guns and back up the party in Parliament. To the surprise of the conservative class the country seems to be with the Labor Party.

PATRICK QUINLAN.

Flashes from the LaborWorld

The clouds which have been gathering for a winter storm have grown darker in the month just passed, the thunder and lightning less. The country is waiting to see whether labor will take wage cuts and starvation or whether it will fight. The mutiny in the British navy has probably saved millions of workers from wage cuts; a revolt among American workers this summer might well have saved the great number—between a half and a full million of workers—whose wages were cut in late September.

Steadily the pressure grows stiffer and stiffer. Jobs grow fewer, the wage rate lower, the days worked per week less. Banks crack under the strain, governments totter, fear grows widespread.

* * *

During the entire year of 1930 there were 934 banks that crashed in the United States, with losses of \$900,000,000. That was an all-time record. During the first eight months of 1931 there were 932 banks closed, with losses of \$700,000,000. While exact figures will not be known for several weeks, September's record crashes, including one of a \$47,000,000 bank that was 120 years old, will add greatly to the record total. Last year November and December were the big months for bank failures.

Workers who have little nest eggs of \$50 or \$100 walk past postoffices which will accept postal savings, pay 2 per cent interest and give the security of the United States government to put their savings into banks which go broke the next day. Then the worker finds his boss had his money in the same bank and so he's both broke and out of a job.

Not all are fooled. There have been \$200,000,000 of additional deposits put into postal savings banks in the last year and the trend is growing.

* * *

While business crashes to new lows and the employment index shows that this winter will be the blackest peace-time period in America's history, Hoover continues faking that all will be well. He appointed Walter S. Gifford, one of the industrialists most blameworthy for the unemployment, to head another commission to do something about unemployment. It soon developed that the something was to issue statements saying over and over, "The need must be met locally." They all parrot Hoover in this.

Meanwhile evidence mounts, of course, that the need is not being met. Detroit reports that the average of those actually starving to death is not less than four a day. Starvation, disease and suffering are met everywhere. The parks, streets and even the hallways of public buildings are filled with homeless men—and sometimes women—sleeping in the open because they cannot afford a bed.

This is true despite the fact, as reported from Washington by Laurence Todd, Federated Press correspondent, that the United States army has 3,000,000 blankets, 226,000 army cots, tents for 248,000 people, and other equipment that has already been offered the governors of the various states for the asking. That is, the governor of any state who really wants to house the homeless in his state may have the equipment to do so by asking for it. This has been true for a year and apparently not one governor has cared enough about the homeless men to go to the trouble of directing the writing out of a request!

The workers are apparently going to be allowed to freeze and starve until they awake to the lesson of England, Ark.

* * *

Desperate workers are adopting strong measures to win the right to live. In Paterson the silk workers have apparently accomplished the miraculous feat of winning a strike for higher wages while the trusts were cutting wages. The hosiery workers are in a struggle to determine whether the non-union workers will strike or the union workers take wage cuts of from 30 to 45 per cent to drive the scab shops out of business. In Colorado, union coal miners have "loaned" half their wages for three months to the boss to help fight a price war.

Only the Paterson struggle has developed far enough to give assurance of the outcome. There the silk workers seem to have fought through cop attacks, the jailing of hundreds, a split in the ranks of the workers themselves, and the extremely difficult business situation in the silk industry to a victory where most of the strikers are back at work under a union contract. Militancy and solidarity are given credit for victory.

* * *

Meanwhile real progress has been made in the defense of one group of hard fighters for the working class. A

few weeks ago it looked as though from 20 to 50 striking miners might be sent to the electric chair on a framed murder charge, and that without the knowledge of most of the American people. Then a few labor papers began to break the news of the frame-ups. More and more joined the drive for publicity on Judge Jones and Sheriff Blair and their crew of gunmen. Workers were murdered again, but this time the world knew about it, and the response of the outside world was startling to the operators and their gunmen. Two Federated Press writers had been shot, two jailed, one driven from Harlan and one threatened with mob violence in getting the story for the labor press. But the ring of silence was broken and the capitalist papers themselves took up the job of showing the plain proofs of frame-up.

More than a score of miners still face murder trials and some half dozen criminal syndicalism charges. Other indictments have been voted and more arrests threatened. The cases are far from won and a long fight looms. Every miner friendly to the workers is in danger of being murdered or of having his home dynamited. Meanwhile the I. W. W. and the National Miners Union are organizing, and the next Harlan strike is likely to be harder fought than the last. Kentucky miners have an antipathy toward being shot.

* * *

What will the steel workers do?

This is the big question on the horizon after the steel trust led the way in a general wage cut of 10 per cent—on top of actual decreases of more than a half in actual income—and practically every other steel mill followed suit. Not only steel but many another industry took the cue from the trust and instituted wage cuts.

The small A. F. of L. union among steel workers, with a highly skilled membership, can harm the bosses but cannot block so sweeping a movement. The Metal Workers Industrial League, Communist led, plans a membership drive leading toward a strike. The industry is operating at 30 per cent of capacity.

* * *

The next three months will unfold a story never before told in America. Only Stuart Chase and Irving Fisher can predict what it will be.

FRANK L. PALMER



“Say It With Books”



HIGH ALTITUDES

Mexico, by Stuart Chase, The MacMillan Company, New York. 336 Pages. \$3.00.

DR. STUART CHASE, diagnostician extraordinary of this machine civilization, gets himself transported to the rare atmosphere of Mexico's high altitudes and comes forth with two sermons. . . . What Mexico Can Give to Middletown and What Middletown can Give To Mexico. The result is a new civilization, combining the best of the machine and the best of the handicrafts into what for want of a better term we shall call "Mexiddletown."

Those who are at all acquainted with Mr. Chase's views (and what literate isn't?), knows that he is entirely disgusted with our crazy machine world, our eternal business about nothing, our perpetual involvements with new gadgets, our ugliness, meanness and our frantic efforts to accumulate wealth without gaining either security or happiness. In Mexico, it seems, he at last has found the answer to our blasted hopes. There upon the mountain slopes, six thousand feet above sea level and higher, lie the Indian villages, today very much the same as when Cortez first set foot on Mexican soil—selfsufficient, independent, and happy. Their inhabitants know nothing about stock markets, automobiles and pent houses. Neither have they yet heard of alarm clocks, time clocks and luncheon engagements. Every three days is a fiesta, and work is nothing to brag about. Handicrafts flourish to a greater or less degree, depending upon remoteness and accessibility, and politeness is the counterpart to our American hearty backslap. And behind it all, as a backdrop, are the majestic ruins of their ancient civilization — “decomposing — but with what charm and grace!”

In spite of Mr. Chase's enthusiasm for this sort of life, it is not yet completely satisfying. There is too much superstition, fear, ignorance and filth. There is no education, nor are there bathtubs and Fords. He therefore lectures the

leaders of Mexico on maintaining the status quo but softening its more pungent odors with mental and physical hygiene.

To Middletown, he points to the security of handicraft civilization and suggests as the one way out of depressions, hopeless unemployment and ugliness of city life, the decentralization of most industry into much smaller units, where factory work could be divided with gardening and handicraft effort.

Yet we wonder whether the plan proposed by the author will bring the happiness to the Mexicans, and to the Middletownians, he thinks it will. The thing that characterizes the Mexican above everything else is his utter wantlessness. But bring to him the education Chase proposes, introduce him to bathtubs and an occasional Ford, and maybe to a radio, and the great chase for gadgets will begin. Permitting private ownership and exploitation of labor for profit, the Mexican, once aroused to higher standards, will walk all over his weaker neighbors as humans have done the world over in the development of all civilizations not built on a collectivist basis, in order to accumulate possessions.

Under similar circumstances, Middletown will be no better off.

Stuart Chase's “Mexiddletown” will still be divided between the strong and the weak, the have and the have-nots, the exploited and the exploiters unless, perhaps, it is mixed with some of the Russian formula into “Commexiddletown.”

Needless to say, to a man like Chase, who can and does spin romance around the most dry-as-dust statistics, his Mexico is a paradise for colorful and absorbing expression. And he does noble with his opportunities. The section devoted to the history of our southern neighbor makes pikers out of pirate stories. The delineation of Mexican village life brings the whole, including the smells, right into the reader's room. Oh, to have one of those magnificent sarapes and gorgeous sombreros.—What a life!

I. MUFSON.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF NATIONALISM

The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism. By Carlton J. Hayes. Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York. 321 pages. \$3.50.

HAVING delivered a series of lectures on Nationalism before the World Unity Institute in the summer of 1929, Carlton J. Hayes, professor of history in Columbia University, carefully reviewed his notes, added an additional chapter, and the world became richer by another book. The result is a very dull dissertation on the methods of mankind in expressing its egregiousness.

Nationalism, by the efforts of Professor Hayes, is lifted more or less out of its political and economic milieu and becomes a full-blown philosophy. “Nationalism is treated neither as a social process nor a popular movement, but rather as a political philosophy,” explains the publisher's note.

Somewhere in the volume is a chapter on the “Economic Factors of Nationalism,” but it is quite lost amidst the higher speculations with which the book abounds.

Some few diligent students taking history courses may read the book through.

I. MUFSON.

SCOTTSBORO ANALYZED

Report on the Scottsboro, Ala., Case. By Hollace Ransdell, The American Civil Liberties Union. \$1.00.

FOR a concise statement and intelligent analysis of the now internationally notorious Scottsboro case, read this pamphlet prepared by Hollace Ransdell for the American Civil Liberties Union. It is a report which Miss Ransdell made after a first hand study on the spot. To prepare it she not only read the transcript of the trial but visited Scottsboro, talked with the people of the town in-

cluding Judge Hawkins, who sat for the case, and other authorities; traveled to Huntsville to interview Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, on whose testimony eight Negro boys were sentenced to death on the charge of rape, talked with the mothers of these girls, with their neighbors, with social workers and officers in Huntsville.

The report sets forth the chronology of the case, starting with the departure from Huntsville of Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, the alleged victims, covering the crime they say was committed against them, the trial, the lynching spirit in Scottsboro, and the subsequent conflict between the International Labor Defense and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the right to conduct the defense of the boys. Miscarriages of justice in the trial are pointed out.

A section is devoted to a study of the social and economic forces which have made Scottsboro possible. "Like the Dreyfus affair, the Mooney-Billings and Sacco-Vanzetti cases," Miss Ransdell believes, "the Scottsboro trial has laid bare some of the inner workings of our social structure." These workings she indicates in case studies of the background of the two girls and in analysis of the social set-up of Scottsboro and the South.

HENRY LEE MOON.

FEED THEM PSYCHOLOGY

The Dissatisfied Worker. By V. E. Fisher and Joseph V. Hanna. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, 260 pages.

THE title of this book led the reviewer to believe that it would be about dissatisfied workers. But since it contains nothing about the inadequacy of wages, long hours of employment, the check-off system, closed industrial towns, class justice, payment in scrip, monotony of work, and other recognized causes of industrial unrest, it clearly suffers from an inappropriate title. The book, however, does deal with the inherent nature of the human individual, the origin and nature of emotional maladjustments, and the emotional maldevelopment involving self-assertion, fear, and sex. The authors are assistant professors of psychology in New York University, and, in addition, one is vocational counsellor at the West Side Y. M. C. A. in New York City. They consider vocational maladjustment as rising from "nonadjustive emotional tendencies within the individual" rather than

from objectionable factors in the work itself. The book contains many illustrations and case studies of emotionally maladjusted people, but only a few deal with workers in the real sense of the term. (Having just finished reading *Is Sex Necessary* by White and Thurber, the reviewer rejoiced to find every now and then in footnote statements that the analysis made by the authors had caused the inhibitions to disappear and the patient to improve.) The authors attempt to relate this material to the industrial worker in the last part of the book. This section is definitely addressed to the employer, and is intended for his use. To diminish labor turnover, it appears to the authors, is not to be done by raising wages and providing better living conditions, but rather by setting up a mental hygiene program. An illustration is given of a foreman suffering from "thwarted self-expression". Symptoms of such a case are described as follows: "He (the sufferer) is usually limited in education, in the social graces, and has been denied any large measure of social recognition. He is unnoticed by those who ride in limousines . . . his braggadocio is frequently second only to his profanity. . . . Were it not for the commanding nature of his job as a foreman, he would probably be a labor agitator, a communist, or some other type of anti-social or anti-industrial agent, or being denied such means of compensation, he would perhaps succumb to emotional maladjustment of a pronounced degree. . . ." The duty of such a clinic, one gathers from the book, would be to ferret out the ambitious worker who suffers from similar ailments and by vocational guidance and clinical treatment keep him from becoming active in strikes and participating in violent outbreaks.

However much psychology the authors may know, it is unfortunate that they have not dipped deeper into economics, a sister science. No one versed in basic economic conditions would so slip up as to state as the authors actually did, "Still higher turnover is reported for periods when jobs were plentiful, as they were in 1920, and immediately following. With the growing scarcity of jobs since that time, however, labor has to a certain extent been stabilized and turnover consequently reduced." Such an excursion into economics before this book was attempted might have considerably altered the entire point of view. Undoubtedly the psychologist has much to offer in the field of industrial relations but this book can better be recommended to Benjamin Stolberg for future articles on psychology and racketeering than to students of industrial relations.

WILLIAM L. NUNN.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC. REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, of *Labor Age*, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1931, State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared HARRY A. HOWE, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of *Labor Age* and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, *Postal Laws and Regulations*, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, and managing editor are:

Publisher—*Labor Publication Society, Inc.*, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—Louis Francis Budenz, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

Editor—Harry A. Howe, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is (If owned by a corporation its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given).

Labor Publication Society, Inc., (a membership corporation with approximately 200 members); James H. Maurer, President, 1355 N. 11th St., Reading, Pa.; Justice Ebert, Treasurer, 66 Barrow St., New York City; Louis Francis Budenz, Managing Editor and Secretary, 128 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

HARRY A. HOWE,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of April, 1931.

(Seal) PETER R. HAWLEY,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires March 30, 1933)

A Real United Front

(Continued from Page 12)

picket lines.

The difficulty of the present hour is that the A. F. of L. in general has the non-sectarian unionism the workers want. But it turns its back as a whole on industrial unionism, so necessary today, and cannot well be accused of militancy. The official Communist unions, on the other hand, have a militancy of a sort, but vitiate it by their sectarian attitude.

4. The sectarian policy of the official Communist Party, in addition to its regrettable by-products of splitting a possible left wing among the mass of workers, at the same time leads to some very dangerous results. The N. T. W. had prepared its workers for the most abject of surrenders in providing for settlement by shop committees alone, under cover of gestures to "rank and file" control. Every one who knows the silk industry knows that this means that there will be no settlements worthy of the name at all. Beyond that, fully twenty circulars were issued by the N. T. W., not devoted to warring on the bosses but on calling the other groups "fakers" and "stool pigeons for the police" and other unsubstantiated terms. It is not too harsh to say that in the old days such work was done by labor spy agencies alone. Resulting from a warped fanaticism today, they serve only to help anti-union employers; and that Paterson newspaper which was most closely connected with the bosses gave column after column of space to these tirades. Beyond that, when faced with defeat in the matter of militancy, the N. T. W. sent back its workers into the shops on any terms. It was one of the three N. T. W. people in the Doherty group who declared in open meeting that "the strike is lost" and that he would not go on the picket lines. One of the prominent members of the local Communist Women's Council went into a shop and scabbed, but came out on our threat to publish her name. The N. T. W., out of a clear sky, raised the issue of the 6-loom system, which no one had been agitating nad which certainly gave a cue to the bosses if anything did. The excuse for all this was that if the workers got bad conditions enough they would turn in despair to the N. T. W. for leadership. No matter what the theory, it is not a good way to turn workers to revolutionary action. There is no doubt of its harmful effects, in spreading uneasiness among the workers.

The Victories

What of the outcome of the general strike itself?

In the face of great difficulties, the 8-hour day has returned. An increase in piece prices has been obtained. The strike is being concluded in more order than most Paterson conflicts. The great question now is: How long will these gains be held? There has been a constant reversion to bad conditions, after the winning of this or that demand in the past. The silk industry is in chaos. The competition of the hundreds of family or "cockroach" shops is a constant menace to any decent conditions. The ownership of looms in the mills by certain workers, who become contractors, is another disturbing factor.

Much of the success which can be secured against these odds depends on the strike spirit which can be carried back into the shops. It depends likewise on the formation, as speedily as possible, of the national federation of silk workers promised in the amalgamation agreement between the U. T. W. and A. S. W.

Oscar Ameringer's New Paper

HITS THE SPOT

THE AMERICAN GUARDIAN, established two months ago, has struck the key-note of American popularity. In that short time, 10,000 new readers have been secured, from one end of the country to another.

Under a barrage of laughing gas, Oscar Ameringer hitches up economic history and philosophy in a way to cause merriment and indignation.

WHAT OTHERS SAY

"It is one of the most intensely American journals between the east and west coast lines of this country. From week to week the case for the under man is stated with statistics, tears, laughter."—Carl Sandburg, in *The Chicago Daily News*.

"It is the sort of weekly, unmuzzled and with the punch landing on the noses of the haughty and elect that I have been longing to read."—Carl Haessler, *The Federated Press*.

Price \$1.00 for the year, or 60 cents a year in clubs of five or more. Samples gladly sent on request.

THE AMERICAN GUARDIAN

Post Office Box 777

Oklahoma City, Okla.

Books Reviewed

In

Labor Age

And All Other Books

MAY BE OBTAINED

From The

Rand Book Store

7 EAST 15th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

Revolutionary Age

A Weekly Newspaper Defending the
Interests of Workers and Farmers

Issued by

COMMUNIST PARTY (Majority Group)

5c Per Copy
\$1.50 Six Months
\$2.50 Per Year

REVOLUTIONARY AGE

63 Madison Avenue,
New York

Capitalism is Staggering

From all over the world come reports of governments on the brink of bankruptcy.

Corruption, brutality and inhumanity, the inevitable products of a civilization builded upon the profit motive—upon the jungle philosophy of "dog eat dog"—are now being shamelessly brought to the surface, as the conflict sharpens.

The "great," the "leaders" in all capitalist countries are being exposed in all their hypocrisy and inadequacy.

With 10,000,000 workers out of jobs the big "intellects" of capitalism propose the impossible—to bring order out of the chaos of the profit system.

Capitalism is going.

A new civilization is being born, a civilization in which exploiters and slaves will not exist.

And this new civilization is being ushered in by the workers of the world.

In Harlan, Kentucky; in Paterson, New Jersey; in Charleston, W. Va.; in the plants of the Brooklyn Edison Company; in the countries of Europe; in China; in India—the struggle is on.

To Keep Informed About This Struggle

Read LABOR AGE

Official organ of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action

LABOR AGE

128 East 16th St.

NEW YORK

For the enclosed dollar bill enter me for a six months' trial subscription to LABOR AGE

Name Street

City State

Regular subscription \$2.00 per year to C. P. L. A. members.

Non-Members \$2.50.